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Counseling and Discipline

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E. G. WILLIAMSON

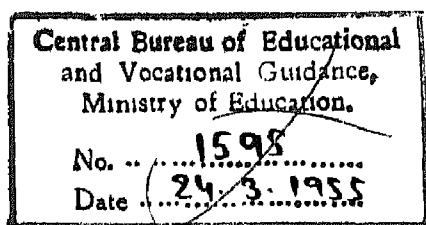
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COUNSELING AND DISCIPLINE

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Preface

Since 1941 the authors have been engaged in applying fundamental methods and principles of counseling to the handling of disciplinary behavior of students. During part of this period Dr. William E. Kendall participated in the experiment.

We have based our systematic formulation of discipline as a phase of personnel work on certain fundamental conceptions and assumptions. For instance, we believe that misbehavior, like all forms of behavior, originates in the individual's social learning, in social institutions and mores, or sometimes in pathology. In some cases misbehavior takes the form of unaccepted *normal* deviations in the individual's social development. In other cases personal conflict over the individual's differences from other members of his group is involved causally in misbehavior.

In a broader sense, discipline is analyzed in this book in the social context of the school and collegiate way of life. This special type of societal culture conditions and influences the students' behavior through mores, customs, social institutions, written or unwritten rules, and especially through the social institutions established by the faculty and by the university administration. We believe that student behavior is not fully to be understood apart from this societal context in which it occurs. In particular, we need understanding of the dynamic "field forces" of student life afforded through an analysis of the changing content of behavior prohibitions and other things denounced or criticized as undesirable. Such normative commentaries on student life give us much insight into the social perceptions and behavior of both the students and those who criticize them.

We believe, therefore, that an understanding of student life, its historical development as well as its current structure and dynamics, is needed as a backdrop against which to highlight today's specific instances of misbehavior. For this reason we have inter-

jected throughout the book examples and generalizations from the twelfth-century University of Paris, from other student-faculty societies of subsequent centuries, and from other subcultures dominant in Western civilization. Such an emphasis upon the developmental background of the school and collegiate society parallels our emphasis upon the developmental background of the individual student involved in disciplinary behavior. These two types of culture backgrounds, in proper relationship to each other, are equally necessary in achieving insight into the causes of misbehavior and therefore are equally important prerequisites to effective rehabilitation of the student involved.

While most of our illustrations and descriptions are drawn from the lives of school and university students, we have made numerous side references to the origins of behavior and misbehavior in the social culture of the home and community. The reader will also readily identify instances of misbehavior which have originated or been learned in high schools. In particular the current disciplinary methods used in some high schools are seen as pre-conditioning and predisposing some students to assume an anti-authority attitude which frequently produces further misbehavior when these same students enroll in college. To avoid this and other more important types of misbehavior, the authors believe that the point of view and most of the techniques herein described are adaptable to all types of educational institutions, high schools as well as colleges and universities.

Our present account of disciplinary counseling is not a history of student behavior, nor is it a detailed monographic report of intensive research on collegiate delinquency. It is rather a systematic attempt to structure an analysis and interpretation of discipline as an integral, but much neglected, part of the modern student personnel movement. The attempt has also been made to locate discipline within the framework of modern concepts of human nature. That is, we have sought to deal with disciplinary behavior in terms of the possible means of modifying behavior from a form characterized as "unacceptable," "bad," "immoral," and "destructive" to a different form characterized by the terms "acceptable," "socialized," "moral," and "constructive."

It will be apparent to the reader that we are not content to rest

the case for disciplinary counseling upon administrative punishment techniques of modifying human behavior. The careful reader will also conclude that we are equally unwilling to agree with those who, incorrectly identifying the whole of counseling with the single phase of psychotherapy, feel that readjustment of the affective accompaniment of behavior will inevitably and completely result in adjustments in the whole personality. Our study of the nature of disciplinary behavior, and of other kinds of behavior as well, leads us to the formulation that affect, or emotional involvement, is no more basic to the whole personality than any other phase of the growing organism. We think, therefore, that therapy, concerned as it is with affective disturbances, is an appropriate and effective technique for circumstances in which affective disturbances are an integral (and causal) phase or involvement of misbehavior—that therapy is appropriate when it is appropriate—but that many other techniques of counseling are more appropriate and effective in other circumstances in which affective conflicts are not *the* cause or are not the only cause of behavior. We feel this way about all forms of therapy—that they are not the sole technique in counseling, nor *the* basic technique—that is, for all derivations and variants of the original Freudian formulation, nondirective variants included.

In our evaluation of the variety of means of modifying behavior, we are concerned with those which are described by the terms “clinical,” “group,” and “institutional.” We have further restricted our discussion to those clinical and group methods found within a student-faculty society and in the surrounding adult society. Stress is laid upon methods of modifying behavior in a public institution, operative in the context of a highly developed student personnel program and with favorable faculty and administrative attitude toward adding to the instructional functions the important educational function of modifying behavior in the direction of personal rehabilitation.

The entire range of student misbehavior is described and included in our discussion of discipline. Most other discussions of the subject seem to center exclusively upon cheating in examinations. But we believe that this form of misbehavior is a minor instance and at most only one of the many forms of deviate behavior

which need to be modified by individual counseling and group methods. We do not discuss at length the honor system, other group methods of modifying and controlling misbehavior, or the student personnel program, especially individual counseling of students in relationship to the prevention of misbehavior. Rather we have been concerned in this textbook with individualized methods of dealing with disciplinary behavior. In other projected writings and discussions, we shall treat group methods, such as the honor system and student government, as means of controlling, modifying, and restricting behavior.

Throughout the text we have inserted brief, summary statements of student discipline cases to illustrate types of problems, procedures, and techniques. In the Appendix we have further described and illustrated the myriad techniques and procedures used in disciplinary counseling through the medium of more extensive case records. Out of the approximately two thousand disciplinary cases accumulated since July 1, 1941, when the Office of the Dean of Students assumed responsibility for disciplinary counseling, we have selected only a few of the many possible types of cases. Many volumes could be written composed entirely of such illustrative cases, but in this present book we have arbitrarily selected some of those which, having occurred more recently in our experiences, we feel will be of interest to the reader and instructive for his understanding of our concepts and their application to disciplinary counseling.

Every conceivable effort has been made to preserve the anonymity of the individuals involved in these cases, both student and staff, with the exception of Miss Gladys Koepke, our associate in the disciplinary counseling bureau, who has been identified by initials in recognition of her many helpful assistances to us in the writing of this volume and also in further recognition of her excellent counseling in this field. We have selected some cases which "did not turn out well" because of our own counseling deficiencies or because of other factors unidentifiable to us. By this device we believe we are indicating that not all disciplinary cases are brought to a successful conclusion, and accordingly we are more truly representing the actual realities to the reader. In some other illustrative cases the situation has been closed with what ap-

peared to us to be a satisfactory termination status from the standpoint of the adjustment of the individual concerned. No doubt our plan to follow and to evaluate these cases will reveal that many of those we first thought unsuccessful will turn out to be satisfactorily adjusted and in many other cases the reverse will be true.

In certain instances we are unable to report the full details of the techniques employed or the full facts disclosed by the use of some techniques. Our desire to preserve the anonymity of the individual has thus caused us to make some editorial changes. But for the most part these changes have been minor in character, and any gaps or seeming errors in judgment are ours and not to be found in the actual records themselves.

We regret that Dr. Robert J. Miner's excellent descriptions of his institutional program of disciplinary counseling at Miami University appeared after our manuscript went to the publisher. The reader is referred to the *Journal of the American Association of Collegiate Registrars* (July, 1948) and the *Proceedings of the American College Personnel Association* (1948).

The authors wish to acknowledge the helpful and incisive comments made by Dr. W. H. Cowley, who read six chapters. The first author recently presented much of the content of the book to a group of students in the University of Denver and received many helpful evaluations. Four of these students—Margaret C. Tufts, Jean Nelson, Gilbert Rau, and Paul Placek—read the entire manuscript and prepared very helpful critiques. Many of their suggestions were incorporated in the manuscript. The authors wish to acknowledge this assistance in adapting the content to the needs of the counselor as a professional student.

Our associate in disciplinary counseling, Gladys Koepke, gave material assistance in collecting the statistical materials of Chaps. 5 and 7 as well as much of the case history material. Alice Blackmun gave generously of her time in preparing the manuscript, particularly in the verification of references and quoted materials. We are most grateful for these instances of assistance. We also wish to express our personal appreciation for the wise judgments and full support given to this part of the University's personnel work by the Faculty Committee on Discipline. With-

out the full cooperation of that committee and of the University's administrative officers, the development of our program of disciplinary counseling would not have been possible. The members of this committee include. Dean Maynard Persig, Assistant Dean Stanley Kinyon, Profs. Dora Smith, Walter Cook, Elio Monachesi, Dr. Ruth Boynton, and Assistant Dean Keith MacFarland.

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The history of the government of students in American Colleges is a history of increasing liberality and orderliness.—CHARLES F THWING, *College Administration*, p. 113 (Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc, New York, 1900).

. . . to belong to a society is to sacrifice some measure of individual liberty, no matter how slight the restraints which the society consciously imposes. The so-called free societies are not really free. They are merely those societies which encourage their members to express their individuality along a few minor and socially acceptable lines. At the same time they condition their members to abide by innumerable rules and regulations, doing this so subtly and completely that these members are largely unconscious that the rules exist. If a society has done its work of shaping the individual properly, he is no more conscious of most of the restrictions it has imposed than he is of the restraints which his habitual clothing imposes on his movements.—RALPH LINTON, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, p. 17 (Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1945).

CHAPTER I

Student Discipline Develops Out of Student Life

"The whole child goes to school" This truism is on the lips of most parents and is restated in a hundred variations by all but the most insulated teachers in the elementary schools. Fewer high school teachers chant this dogma, despite the valiant impetus of the eight-year study of the Progressive Education Association, and still fewer teachers in colleges and universities give even lip service to this twentieth century educational doctrine. But the tide of fundamental reform has set in this direction, and increasingly educators at all levels concern themselves with assisting in the development of the whole person: emotions, insights, understandings, and behavior. Intellect is no longer the sole concern of teachers.

Nevertheless, in our preoccupation with the broad goal of personality development, educators frequently neglect or exclude certain types of emotions, insights, understandings, and behavior which are socially disruptive in the classroom and on the playground, and which often interfere with personal development. These deviations in development away from the socially approved and desired end goals are usually described by such value words as "errors," "bad," "antisocial," and even "immoral." And the control techniques used to eradicate such "bad" deviations in emo-

tions, insights, understandings, and behavior include "punishment," "warnings," "threats," "restrictions," and "expulsion"—none of which is truly *educative* with respect either to purpose or to effect. The inappropriateness and ineffectiveness of such pedagogical control techniques are especially sharply outlined when they are applied to the more matured late adolescents resident today in high schools, colleges, and universities.

Discipline as Education

In contrast to the outmoded concept of deviate or "immoral" behavior, the authors of this book propose to broaden the scope of the objectives of education, including higher education, to include "bad" behavior and thus to apply to such "bad" emotions, insights, understandings, and behavior those effective educative techniques which are designed to reeducate the individual in the direction of "good" behavior. In our judgment, all behavior, good and bad, is thus to be transferred from the realm of blame and censure and placed in the context of socialized learning situations.

Based upon this concept of education, *discipline*, the result of "bad" behavior, is conceived as inherent in the educational process itself, and thus is not imposed directly and arbitrarily from external authorities. *Disciplinary counseling*, conceived as a constructive educational force when performed by professionally trained counselors, takes its place in the broad methodology of education. This type of counseling includes both personal and group programs designed to prevent misconduct and to provide effective means of reeducation for those students whose behavior conflicts with that of other individuals, with the group mores of student life, or with society in general. The prevention of misconduct is an integral part of educational processes with respect to the program of admissions, individual counseling, and group, social, recreational, and religious activities among students. Reeducation involves assisting the student to reorient and retrain himself with respect to his social, personal, or ethical development.

Seen thus as a part of a broadly conceived program of education designed to assist each individual to achieve his maximum personal development consistent with social obligations and the

social setting in which he grows and lives, discipline takes its place in education as a special educational technique for a special purpose and with a special clientele. Disciplinary counseling is not, however, an isolated *clinical* technique, but rather a part of a broad-gauged pedagogical program in the institutional setting of high schools, colleges, and universities. In effect, we propose to establish disciplinary counseling and its behavior content or subject matter, student misbehavior, in a system of higher education which is as inclusive and broad in content and technique as is the following concept of elementary and secondary education:¹

When a child is failing to acquire the substantive aspects of the culture at the rate normally expected for his age or when his personality development is showing deviations either in the direction of delinquency or neurosis, it is a part of educational responsibility to correct the deficiencies and counteract the ill effects of the child's past educational history. Education, in its broadest sense, thus encompasses, not only the positive efforts to teach and train the young, but also re-education—the “remedial teaching” and “counseling” of schools; the personal and social re-direction engaged in by welfare agencies, churches, courts and correctional institutions, and the specialized psychotherapy practiced in the case of the more serious personality disturbances of both children and adults.

Psychology and Discipline

A system of psychology which is appropriate and relevant to the concept of discipline as an integral part of education, broadly conceived, is stated by Price as follows:²

Gestalt psychology also recognizes ethical conduct by man as the “culmination of man's rational nature.” This position “is made tenable by a simple extension of the notion of insight to an appreciation of the social consequences of one's actions. A ‘good act’ is one which takes into consideration all the immediate and long-distance effects which it may draw after it, and is performed only if it leads to a better group

¹ *An Announcement of Changes in the Editorial Management and Policy of The Harvard Educational Review*, issued by the School of Education, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1946.

² Louise Price, *Creative Group Work on the Campus*, pp. 29–30, Teachers College Contributions to Education, Columbia University Press, New York, 1941.

organization (in the sense of Wertheimer's 'good' gestalt). A bad act, on the other hand, is one executed out of relation to the setting in which it occurs and thereby inevitably creates tension or conflict between the offender and the society of which he is a 'member.' Society, however, is not absolved of at least partial responsibility for there must be something 'wrong' with it that one of its parts should react in a way which defeats its own integration."^{*}

Such an interpretation is of consequence to personnel officers for three reasons: (1) It is optimistic and by identifying goodness with the operation of the law of precision suggests the possibility of "a steady evolution toward improved and more harmonious behavior." The concept offers a scientific basis for achieving human happiness. (2) It "is rational and supports the Sociatic view that the wise man is also the virtuous one" (3) It is humane and just "The individual is simply the figure, subject to all the field forces which the 'ground' exerts on him."[†]

^{*} George Hartmann, *Gestalt Psychology*, p. 274, 1935.

[†] *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275

The Institutional Setting of Discipline

From the above formulation it follows that discipline and disciplinary counseling cannot be understood apart from the institutional, as well as the broader societal, setting in which the behavior of individual students takes place. For example, speaking of the medieval period in history, Rashdall writes of this concept of the influence of society upon student behavior: "It must be remembered that the violent scenes which crowd the records of a medieval university are only an extreme development of the violence which characterizes medieval life in general."³ And again he generalizes about this relationship of individual behavior to societal conditions: "Alike in the Universities and out of them, the asceticism of the medieval ideal provoked and fostered the wildest indulgence in actual life."⁴

The reader should not conclude hastily that in modern life there is no similar societal influence upon student behavior. The follow-

³ Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 686, Oxford University Press, New York, 1895.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 675.

ing extract from Schmidt's review of early American colleges indicates the continuing interrelationship of society's mores and student behavior.⁵

When such "extra-curricular activities" occurred in the newer southern and western institutions, they were perhaps more lurid and spectacular. The remoteness and isolation of some of these small colleges may have been a principal cause in that it offered no normal outlet for the animal energy of growing boys. When one hears the promoters of Kenyon College recommend the latter for its accessibility, since it was only six miles from a stage line and scarcely twenty-five from the National Road, one can imagine the life in the remoter seats of learning. This factor helps to explain the excesses that were perpetrated; on the frontier the acquisition of culture was a painful process. During Andrew Dickson White's undergraduate days at Hobart professors were buried under mattresses, and tutors badly burned by heated cannonballs rolling down the corridors. President Hale at one time escaped from the classroom through a window and down a ladder; on another occasion he was kept at bay by a shower of beer-bottles. White found more carousing in Hobart than in a half-dozen of the largest American and European universities that he came to know later, and as a result became skeptical of the "direct Christian influence" of small church colleges. Students of Miami University in Ohio blockaded lecture halls and homes after a heavy snowfall and brought college activities to a complete standstill. In North Carolina they rode horses through the dormitory and "shot up" the place generally. At a great drinking bout, attended by students and faculty, that signalized the celebration of Washington's birthday in 1804, a young instructor, according to a student's letter, achieved the feat of getting drunk twice. Shooting, blocking stagecoaches, and singing ribald songs in front of churches are reported from the University of Virginia. Students here went even further and on occasion assaulted and whipped members of the faculty. In the course of the riot of 1842 Professor Davis was shot and killed by an exuberant undergraduate. A similar outrage was the murder of President Jeremiah Chamberlin of Oakland College in Mississippi. During the political excitement attendant upon the discussion of the Compromise of 1850 a drunken student, enraged over a fancied injury, stabbed him to death.

⁵ George P. Schmidt, *The Old Time College President*, pp. 85-86, Columbia University Press, New York, 1930.

To balance the picture, we should cite one personal report from the University of Wisconsin of a half century ago. If it is at all representative of student life of that day, then one would suppose that disciplinary situations occurred quite infrequently in contrast with the situations at colleges included in Schmidt's study quoted above. Further exploration is needed to determine the representativeness of both samplings—perhaps both accounts are true of different segments of student life. The Wisconsin picture of student life is as follows:⁶

There was some, but not much excessive drinking of intoxicants by the students—by men students only. Drinking of intoxicants by girl students was wholly unknown. There was a brewery on State Street about midway between Assembly Hall and the capitol, and in connection with it a saloon, which was patronized by a minority of the boys and by only a few of them to any considerable extent . . . Instances of intoxication were only occasional and were generally disapproved by student opinion. Such reveling was most likely to occur on Saturday evenings. . . I do not recall the case of a single student whose career at Madison was wrecked by strong drink. On the whole the influence of the entire university, both faculty and students, was definitely and successfully on the right side . . .

One thing remains to be spoken of in regard to which the customs of the present and of the past are far apart, and that thing of course is smoking. Many of the young men smoked pipes and cigars, and a few of them smoked cigarettes. Smoking among girls and women was totally unknown. A girl seen smoking would have been socially taboo in any circle of respectable society. It was not even quite the correct thing for men to smoke cigarettes. . . . It is true that The Badger reported in '84 "that the students of Yale College smoke cigarettes daily, to the number of two or three thousand," but Yale students came from homes of different environment . . . and the environment of public opinion and conduct in the two institutions was equally different.

THE CONTEMPORARY ADOLESCENT STUDENT AND COLLEGE LIFE

In so far as present-day student discipline develops out of the broad social setting of student life, it is relevant for our discussion of discipline to characterize very briefly certain features of the

⁶ Frederic A. Pike, *A Student at Wisconsin Fifty Years Ago*, pp. 130-132, Democrat Printing Co., Madison, Wis., 1935.

contemporary university in much the same manner that Rashdall has characterized medieval student life and Schmidt has described the American college student of a century ago. In the absence of objective, verified, and quantitative data we are forced to base these characterizations on personal, subjective, and observational experiences. A decade or more hence perhaps experimental data may become available for the scientific testing of our hypothesis of the origin of contemporary students' disciplinary behavior.

The student admitted to college today directly from high school is typically an adolescent in his late teen years. He has shown some intellectual and scholastic promise and he usually aspires to cultural and professional training in order to prepare himself for his anticipated occupational and social role in the community. He has shown some degree of mature ethical development as well as the ability to undertake personal, educational, and social tasks and responsibilities. He is the product of individual and family hopes and fears, personal aptitudes and interests, and cultural, religious, and biological processes. He is oftentimes unsophisticated, emotionally and physically immature, and sometimes socially and politically docile. He is usually "on his own" for the first time in his life. Frequently he is in a state of revolt against the authority status of his parents and, as a result, he often transfers this attitude into action against the parent-surrogates, the college authorities. A brave new world faces him, and he expects to meet it valiantly, to experience its offerings truly, and to conquer it triumphantly. Usually he has not learned to tolerate differing behavior in others, especially in those of different race, culture, religion, politics, and nationality. If left to himself as he progresses through college, he usually clings socially to like-minded students, thereby further narrowing his originally narrow personal habits, beliefs, attitudes, and preferences. As a beginning freshman, he has not yet learned many of the social skills necessary to live amicably in the socially polyglot adult world. He is entering a transitional, or training, environment from which he is expected to emerge no longer an adolescent but a reasonable adult, able to assume the mature responsibilities which society, of which he is its own most self-conscious unit, has deemed necessary and desirable.

The college or university which he enters to learn adult behavior, and to acquire mature competence, is an educational corporation. It has a charter which invests final legal jurisdiction over all matters in a governing body of adults, which sometimes permits student participation in certain phases of the management and regulation of student life and activities. The broad societal purposes of the institution, the opinions of its faculty, and the needs of the students guide that body in determining its policies. The opinions of the alumni and of the people of the community who support the college also affect the manner of operation and government. The cultural and social heritage of the community further provides the broad framework or social learning field in which the college exists. Within these limitations the governing board functions to govern an institution of higher learning, and it may sometimes regard or disregard the limiting factors mentioned.

In this sense the college is not a political or management democracy in which the leaders derive their powers and responsibilities from those who are governed, but it is expected to prepare its students to function as members in a democratic society. To achieve its purpose, therefore, it must be prepared to accept the entering student as he is and to provide the teaching experiences—both within and without the classroom—which make him fit for the outside world.

Since students differ with regard to aptitudes, interests, goals, and backgrounds in educational, social, and ethical concepts, the college, having adapted many of its programs to the "typical" student, must further individualize its instructional, counseling, and recreational facilities to provide assistance to the deviate or atypical student. For example, it must accept the student who is in a period of revolt against parents and somehow provide for him a flexible and tolerant environment in which he may express himself within reasonable limits of appropriate taste and thus be assisted to develop into an educated, responsible citizen.

Within the limitations of staff and money, the social and ethical conduct of college students is a *responsibility of educational as opposed to administrative officials*. A college is responsible for teaching its students in this area of behavior as well as in more traditional subject-matter fields. Discipline as an educational

process, therefore, calls for the utilization of all the facilities of a college in providing adequate learning situations so that all students may make developmental adjustments within the environment in which they find themselves.

Hawkes has stated a basic point of view toward discipline and misbehavior which stresses the responsibility of the institution to assist the student with his moral and behavior development as it does with his intellectual development:⁷

This means [college responsibility] that fixed rules of discipline administered arbitrarily have no place in a college. It means that some one must at all costs determine what is back of a case of cheating or drunkenness or other breach of decent behavior. Not only the factual evidence in the case, but the background and state of mind that led up to it, must in some way be found out. This takes time and patience and insight, but it is a technique that can be developed and practiced. Discipline should be approached from the angle of moral education of the individual rather than of his punishment. I have met very few boys who were not thankful to have someone point out clearly but sympathetically defects in their character. When a weakness in character has once been definitely isolated so that the boy can see just what it is and what it implies, he can usually be counted on to make the attempt to strengthen his weak spot. To expel a boy from college as soon as a weak spot in his character has been located seems to me to indicate either a failure to understand human nature or a blindness to the most solemn responsibility that the college has assumed in admitting him.

IS DISCIPLINE SOMETHING NEW?

Is this relationship between the adolescent's personal status and the disciplinary phase of college life something new in higher education? Emphatically, no! From the descriptions of 12th century student life in Salerno, Bologna, and Paris to the present-day annals, every description of the collegiate way of life includes mention of discipline. *Hence we conclude that misbehavior is just as typical and characteristic of that way of life as are the professorial lectures, textbooks, final examinations, and libraries.* Schmidt writes of the colonial American colleges:⁸

⁷ H. E. Hawkes, "College Administration," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol 1, p. 252, May, 1930.

⁸ Schmidt, *op cit*, p. 41

In this phase of college life also the records have the same story to tell, the same youthful exuberances and uncouth pranks appeared everywhere, and few college histories were complete without the account of at least one great riot. Satan himself seems to have wrought with stiking impartiality, for calves were tied in chapels and crackers exploded in tutors' rooms in the saintly College of New Jersey as well as in the godless University of Virginia. . . .

Even though the subject matter of student misbehavior is old, perhaps a glance backward a century ago to the University of Wisconsin may make us aware of a change in attitude toward discipline and disciplinary counseling. The system in use at that time was simple and readily understood as contrasted with the obscure, and even sometimes concealed, system in vogue today in some institutions. Whether the Wisconsin system actually controlled behavior effectively may be doubted, but at least it had the virtue of being an "open book."⁹

During the first decade or so the faculty used a unique grading system which seems to have been based upon the ancient Saxon tradition that the accused is presumed innocent until proved guilty. At the beginning of each session all students were credited with 100 points in scholarship and 100 points in deportment. For each scholastic crime or lapse from grace as reckoned in the published decalogue of the faculty, a student was debited from one to fifty points. Scholastic debits resulted mostly from failure to recite or turn in written work. All types of misbehavior which the faculty could think of—and they thought of a lot—were assigned a point value. It cost as much to miss daily prayers as to miss a class. Tardiness cost half as much as complete absence.

The most expensive indulgence was what the faculty called "personal violence," which cost a full 50 points. Personal violence in this scale of values was five times as serious as missing an examination and 10 times more serious than entering a saloon or barroom in the village of Madison. When a student accumulated 25 debits in the great book kept by the Chancellor, he was warned and his father notified in beautiful prose. Accumulation of 50 and 75 debits called forth a second and third warning. If a student used up all his credits he was, as the faculty put it, "separated from the institution for one term or longer."

⁹ Vernon Carstensen, "The 100-year Old Story," *The Wisconsin Alumnus*, Vol. 47, No. 9, p. 6, June, 1946. See also Schmidt's reference to similar merit-dement systems used in early colonial colleges. *Op cit.*, pp. 82-83.

There is nothing to suggest that the faculty had ever heard of deficit spending. As it worked out, some students, notably the Chancellors' sons, pursued their education in alternate sessions.

In contrast with the Wisconsin system, discipline and disciplinary counseling are seldom discussed publicly today except in terms of the enjoyable reminiscences of alumni as they attempt to recapture the joviality of their adolescent college days. In rejecting such a policy of concealment by officials, the authors of this book feel that discipline, as a part of the collegiate way of life, should be made known and dealt with as objectively and humanistically as is recreation, another phase of the collegiate way of life once repressed and deplored by college authorities. Discipline is indeed a normal part of the college scene and of student life and can be turned to good advantage in helping the student to learn important and necessary concepts with respect to person-to-person relationships, ethics, personal and social values, and similar phases of the student's development as a personality. We propose to outline in this book such a program which utilizes disciplinary situations for learning and relcarning purposes. While we use illustrations and materials taken largely from college life, yet we feel that our techniques and principles hold equally well for high school students. Indeed there is a continuity of student behavior from the high school to the college period and the origin of much collegiate behavior is to be found in earlier high school experiences. Our generalizations are to be applied equally to all levels of education, not just to college life.

CURRENT APPROACHES TO DISCIPLINE¹⁰

An overview analysis of high schools and colleges today reveals that certain attitudes are still held by administrators and faculty almost as they were held in the ancient universities. In general we may say that currently there are five approaches to the disposition or treatment of students who exhibit that type of behavior classified as undesirable or unacceptable to the school or

¹⁰ We are not concerned in this book with discipline defined as maintenance of orderliness and good behavior in the classroom. That is a special problem in teaching and classroom management. But we shall be concerned with *behavior manifestations* of students wherever they occur.

college community or as violations of formal regulations and rules. These five approaches or points of view are: (1) strict and impersonal enforcement of rules and regulations; (2) indulgent laxity typified by the expression, "Boys will be boys"; (3) the punitive approach, (4) preventive group work; (5) individual counseling as prevention. We shall discuss these five approaches briefly to serve as further introduction to our discussion of the program of discipline and disciplinary counseling.

*Strict and Impersonal Enforcement of Numerous and Detailed Rules*¹¹

This strict attitude on the part of administrators and certain members of the faculty toward disciplinary cases appears to be, in part, grounded upon a concept of discipline which is both stern and rigidly consistent. The medieval counterparts of this point of view are numerous and may, in large part, have set the standard for centuries of attempts at stern control of student behavior. For example, Sheldon reminds us that:¹²

A celebrated college of the University of Paris, in the time of Erasmus, deliberately aimed to crush the spirit of its students by inflicting upon them almost impossible sanitary conditions. Not infrequently the iron discipline provoked outbreaks which cost the teachers their lives. . . . Students were not permitted to go beyond the walls of their colleges without official attendance, and if convicted of an infingement of the rules they were soundly bucked.

Schmidt interprets the reactions of 19th century students to such a disciplinary system in these words:¹³

Such was the disciplinary machinery which the president might expect to find when he entered office and which he was expected to

¹¹ Perhaps few colleges, ancient or modern, achieved the distinction of Union College which, in 1802, had "laws" governing students and consisting of eleven chapters of from 7 to 23 sections each. (See Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.) The University of Georgia established sixteen pages of rules which concluded with an elastic clause "since these laws are few and general, the faculty shall use discretion in all cases not covered." (*Ibid.*, p. 81.)

¹² Henry D. Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs*, p. 8, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1901

¹³ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

operate. That the machinery creaked goes without saying. The cold, impersonal formalism of such a routine was bound to be galling to adolescents who required sympathy and human contacts. The pomp and solemnity of a faculty hearing might overawe the guilty, but was not likely to win their confidence. The best of them found the yoke at times unbearable. . . . One did not have to be a congenital rowdy however to chafe under the rigid regime, for it was so confining that smoldering resentment could always be roused. As a result, violations of rules were the order of the day. Very often, to be sure, such violations were nothing more than horseplay and pranks of the kind that old graduates like to recall and embellish, and that grow more elaborate with each alumni dinner. But all too frequently they took the form of open insubordination and concerted uprisings against the constituted authorities. Those colleges were few and far between that did not boast of at least one first-class riot. So numerous and so widespread are the accounts of such occurrences that even when taken with a grain of salt they indicate a condition of affairs in most colleges that approached chronic anarchy.

Until recently in some colleges and in many high schools one could still observe vestigial remains of this ancient attempt to control student behavior by external authoritarian discipline formulated in detailed rules.¹⁴

¹⁴ The part that rules played in the lives of students as late as the nineteenth century is illustrated as follows in the case of the University of Georgia. Except for the date, one might well have concluded that Coulter was quoting Rashdall with respect to the twelfth century University of Paris!

"Higher education was a new thing in the Lower South when the University of Georgia began its existence. Yale men brought the idea in, and Yale men made the machinery and set it in motion. As already noted, how Yale College did things was of much importance in Georgia. The inspiration for the laws governing the students was also of Yale origin and was Puritanical and puerile after the most approved fashion of the age. It was anomalous indeed for the scientific Meigs to give way to this flood of petty restrictions and commands, religious and otherwise; but what else could he do—he who had known no other. Again was it even stranger that godless Georgia should embrace them so ardently and cling to them so tenaciously.

"The first code of laws was drawn up by Meigs and adopted by the *Senatus Academicus* in Louisville in 1803, and thereafter they were codified and readopted at intervals—in 1811, 1816, 1823, 1827, 1834, 1854, and on down. Few laws were ever dropped, the changes were additions. These rules were the law of the land as far as the University was concerned and just as sacred.

Such social control systems sometimes stem from a fear of being charged with inconsistency, with variations in the treatment of different individual students who have exhibited different kinds of behavior or who may have participated in the same unacceptable behavior. Such a method of handling discipline essentially calls for a detailed set of rules and regulations with stipulated specific penalties attached to violations of each rule or regulation. When a student breaks a rule he automatically receives a certain penalty. In fact, he knows ahead of time what his penalty will be because the rule book states the prescribed action. This codification of discipline is similar to the practices of some continental universities in the medieval and renaissance period, and the practice which persisted widely in America as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Such a penal system of discipline usually ignores the individual student and the causative factors underlying the behavior which we call unacceptable. Moreover, the method of treatment contributes very little to the personal growth and to the development of self-discipline. Rather is the student placed in the position of *forced conformance* to rules and regulations. Such a system thwarts any attempt or any possibility of stimulating independent thinking and judgment about his own adjustments to student life or to adult life. Such an approach is neither positive, as is individual treatment of the student, nor is it destructively negative as is the punitive method of administering discipline.

Indulgent Laxity—"Boys Will Be Boys"

This approach to the problem of discipline is in some respects the opposite extreme from strict enforcement of rules. Essentially it is a "masculine" point of view which may have its origin in the guilt feelings of the adult enforcement agent, in a nostalgic

The student's passport to classes was a set of the laws signed by the president, he was given ten days to digest them and thereafter he fell hard under their inexorable pains and penalties. His every action was guided by them. A law got him out of bed and put him back again. He ate by them, he studied by them, he recited by them—they were with him always. He kept them close at hand, hardly knowing until he should consult them what he could do next" (E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, pp. 77-78, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928)

recall of the official's disciplinary behavior when he too was an adolescent student. In fact, many times faculty members, in off-guard moments, will comment in the midst of deliberations of a student's case of misbehavior: "I did worse things when I was a student." This attitude is reminiscent of the fraternity alumnus who, on homecoming celebrations, regales the new undergraduates with boasts about his escapades when he was in college.¹⁵ This essentially irresponsible method may have a beneficial, emotional cathartic effect upon the adult, but it makes little positive contribution to the development of independent judgment and a sense of social responsibility on the part of the student being counseled.

The Punitive Approach

Although most high schools, colleges, and college officials do not publicly subscribe to a punitive treatment of misbehavior, there is evidence which indicates that even today many students are deliberately punished for delinquencies.

This punishment method of controlling behavior and of dealing with that misbehavior which is defined as violation of detailed and numerous rules and regulations, has a long antiquity. In fact, in a few colleges, the point of view and even some of the regulations have survived the centuries with surprising, and dismaying, intactness. The reader should compare some of the rules, and also the spirit of disciplinarians, on his own campus with the situation as described below.¹⁶

It is evident that the spirit of the Middle Ages, with its tendency to mysticism, its lack of confidence in human nature, its universal instinct of repression and constraint, was not adapted to discover, in matters of discipline, a just medium between license and extreme severity. It was

¹⁵ Haskins notes this point in his description of "the good student" of medieval times. He quotes, " . . . the life of the virtuous student," says Dean Rashdall, 'has no annals . . .'. It has been observed that the alumni reunions of our own day are often more prolific in recollections of student escapades than of the daily performance of the allotted task." (Charles H. Haskins, *The Rise of Universities*, pp. 120-123, Peter Smith, New York, 1940.)

¹⁶ Gabriel Compayré, *Abelard and the Origin and Early History of Universities*, pp. 278-279, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1893.

decidedly toward severity that it leaned when enclosed colleges and boarding-schools came to replace the free corporations of students of earlier days. Then the rod had full sway. The rod, which was the favorite mode of discipline in convents, became the great educational instrument in colleges, "those jails full of young captives." "Children should be brought up to endure severity in all that concerns the body," said a general of the Dominicans, who fortified his opinion by the precepts of St. Bernard and Lyncurgus. But the fact that the whip was in constant use, and for the slightest faults, is not the only thing that sheds light on the rigorous discipline of the Middle Ages; the nature of the faults thus punished does the same thing. The regulations drawn up by Gerson, the gentle Gerson, for the Cathedral School of Paris, enumerate the chief faults which the pupils were liable to commit, and which, moreover, their comrades were bound to make known, the giving of secret information being then encouraged as a legitimate means of discipline.* Here is the list: "Speaking French,† lying, giving the lie, insulting, striking, doing or saying immodest things, rising late, forgetting to recite the canonical hours, and talking in church."

* A pupil who did not denounce the fault of his comrade was punished like the guilty one

† Even in 1600, the pupils were still forbidden, under severe penalties, to speak in their mother tongue

Although the punishment method of treatment of human beings may have some limited educational and remedial value with some students in some situations, as a general method it is out of harmony with contemporary educational philosophy and is nearly always completely ineffective in solving the basic and underlying adjustment problems which are often causes of misbehavior. While recognizing that some individuals must be segregated because they have limited possibility of learning self-regulation and self-responsibility, yet we should not use punishment methods with any naive expectation that they will "reform" the individual concerned. In far too many cases the punitive approach to discipline smacks of a sadistic expression of the urge of the administrator and teacher to "crack down" on students who have irritated them with misbehavior. In other circumstances the punitive approach seems to be an expression of the point of view that, "we must not appear to be weak and afraid to take disciplinary action. We must make an example of this student in order to deter other

students from similar behavior." When analyzed with respect to their effect in reforming individual students, these points of view are not to be seriously entertained, even though the irritation of the faculty toward a particular irresponsible student is sympathetically understood and indeed often shared!

In some situations a punitive approach to discipline seems to exhibit a spirit of "we will show the students who is boss around here. If we aren't firm they will get out of hand. Severe punishment always prevents misbehavior. Discipline is the only way to control behavior." This point of view appears to stem from long historical roots, leading back from both Latin and North American to early European universities. We find a trace of its early outgrowth in the Latin-American universities of the sixteenth century, no doubt influenced in part by their prototype, Salamanca, the leading university of Spain, which in turn was greatly influenced in its pattern by medieval Paris.¹⁷

Student life was not at all a round of unbroken study, but was filled with nocturnal scandals, brawls, and occasional duels, which kept the university authorities (*e g*, *boddels*) constantly on the alert. . . . In order to apprehend students red-handed, proctors often prowled about the streets at night or visited the night spots where clandestine visits were likely and there lay in waiting. The whole thing became a sort of sport of student versus recognized authority.

An evaluation of the results of such a point of view and the methods that are derived from it would raise serious doubt as to their effectiveness, if one approaches the treatment of disciplinary behavior from the standpoint of actually doing something constructive about it instead of merely punishing students. *Essentially a punitive approach to discipline is a simple and lazy method of solving problems through eliminating students from college.* Very frequently such a method solves the problem by getting rid of the troublesome students, sometimes, it must be noted, with justification because there is apparently no other effective method available for a particular situation. But essentially a *generalized and rigidly consistent* punitive attitude toward

¹⁷ John A. Clow, *The Epic of Latin America*, p. 288, Doubleday & Co., Inc., New York, 1947.

discipline blocks any attempt to work out individualized solutions of rehabilitation thereby alleviating the causes and preventing further manifestations or undesirable effects.

Preventive Group Work

Descriptions of medieval student life indicate that the terrible drabness and barrenness of the student's life and the absence of what we consider today to be normal group recreation were undoubtedly directly related to the tremendous amount of misbehavior. Despite medieval educational theory, the absence of facilities for recreation did not produce mild-mannered and law-abiding students outside of the confines of the colleges, however restricted and repressed they were within. For example.

Under the protection of their clerical tonsure, the students of Paris attacked and slew passers-by, carried off the women, ravished the virgins, committed robberies, and broke into houses. Over and over again at Oxford occurs the dismal record that certain juniors swear that a monk or clerk killed A or B, citizen or clerk, with a sword, poleax, or knife, and has fled. Such violence was not confined to turbulent freshmen and young aristocrats, but masters of arts, monks, friars, benefited clergymen, and heads of colleges were involved in street brawls and assaults.¹⁸

We shall see in a later discussion that modern group work in high schools and on college campuses, particularly the development of student unions and the stimulation of wholesome and varied group life and student activities, undoubtedly have contributed significantly to the prevention of undesirable behavior. Perhaps modern recreational programs have even reduced, though not entirely eliminated, the drinking bouts which were an integral part of the stages of advancement in the career of a medieval student from the initiation or "deposition" of "yellow beak" freshmen to the celebration given for his masters (teachers) after his final disputation and graduation. For example, at ancient Heidelberg students celebrated their *Kommers*, or drinking bouts, in the neighboring villages, often fighting with the peasants.¹⁹ But, in

¹⁸ Sheldon, *op. cit.*, p. 4

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

contrast, today new forms of recreation are gradually being substituted for these ancient violent ones, with many desirable attendant consequences upon students' scholastic and personal improvement in both high school and college.

Thus organized social, recreational, athletic, and religious groups serve to channel the interest and urges of students into wholesome and educational opportunities of a constructive sort. It is as true today as it ever was that idle hands of students get into mischief and it is a wise school or college administration which follows the dictates of the modern conception of group work instead of using the iron hand of administrative discipline to control student life.

Writing of discipline in elementary and high schools, Strang has expressed the basic modern rationale of group control of individual behavior in our form of democratic society and especially with respect to the influence of the group upon the developing social adjustments of the individual members.²⁰

Another form of control resides in society, or, more specifically, in teachers and school officials, public opinion among students, family as well as community opinion, religious sanctions, governmental regulations, books, movies, and radio. This group control may be represented in unwritten customs and traditions. These are rules imposed by the pressure of social habits, and arise out of the structure of the group. Custom as such is respected. Equally important, in an educational institution, is the control that results from intense group feeling, usually called "school spirit."

More clearly defined are the rules made by the students themselves. These rules may be enforced by the administration, but arise out of student interest and initiative. They are reformulated by every new group of students, not made once and for all time. "Morality, insofar as it finds expression in the ideas of any social group, is always in the making." At the authoritarian end of the scale are rules and regulations made by administrative officers and enforced either by officers or by students.

The aim of education in a democracy is gradually to replace superficial, automatic obedience to authority with controls from within. Such progression of experience is in line with what we know about the

²⁰ Ruth Strang, *Group Activities in College and Secondary School*, pp 88-89, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1941

moral development of children. The French psychologist, Piaget, in the groups of children he studied, found the shift from the idea of law as something imposed from without to the idea of law as something which members of the group help to create and enforce, taking place before high school age. Thus even junior high school children should participate in the making and enforcing of rules and regulations essential for living in the school community.

In any society or school there must be government, control, direction, discipline. The question is whether this control shall be exercised arbitrarily or cooperatively. The aim is individual self-government, self-control, self-direction, self-discipline, and a personal sense of responsibility. The purpose of student cooperation in government is not to make life easier for teachers, but to develop in students the qualities mentioned in the preceding sentence.

Student organizations and activities can contribute to the prevention of misbehavior by providing "civilized" outlets for the healthy enthusiasms and exuberance of adolescence. Such activities provide for social, emotional, and citizenship growth through normal participation under desirable conditions in cooperative enterprises, community affairs, as well as individual leisure time activities. Thus students are encouraged and aided in securing satisfaction through approval of their fellow students and through self-governing practices. That such learnings are thought to be desirable in adult life, is evidenced by the fact that many large business corporations and other social enterprises and institutions have developed extensive group activities as a means of maintaining high morale and of rechanneling attitudes and impulses which might become destructive and antisocial and thus express themselves in unacceptable behavior.

Individual Counseling as Prevention

It is the fundamental thesis of the authors, based upon their experience in developing a collegiate system of disciplinary counseling, that behavior maladjustments are often anticipated in the individual contacts which students have with the counselors. That is, in the same way that a varied and well-regulated program of group activities serves to channel normal youthful exuberance, in like manner individual counseling contributes materially to the prevention of disciplinary behavior by early identification of anti-

social tendencies, frustrations, aggressions, and other individual behavior impulses which, if uncorrected, very likely will produce unacceptable behavior. Such counseling needs to be done, or at least supervised, by someone who is trained to identify the early symptoms of such antisocial behavior. But all teachers should be encouraged and helped to increase their knowledge and effectiveness in identifying those individuals who need mental hygiene, as a means of preventing misbehavior, as well as a means of preventing mental breakdowns. Dormitory counselors, fraternity counselors, householders, and members of the athletic staff, as well as teachers and administrators, all play an important role in the use of counseling as prevention. Very frequently such persons are in a position to advise students or to refer them for specialized and technical counseling before the students' problems exhibit those symptoms which we call disciplinary behavior.

This concept of individual counseling as prevention of disciplinary behavior in no way detracts from counseling considered in other connections as achieving other objectives, such as higher scholastic achievement and normal personality development. The essential point is that effective counseling in and of itself helps to prevent disciplinary behavior by helping students to develop normally in their personal growth. It is self-evident that normal personal growth does not usually exhibit itself in marked disciplinary behavior.

SUMMARY

The individualized treatment or rehabilitation of the student offender whose personality development deviates from the social norms does not ignore the seriousness of the offense nor its effect upon other students and upon the institution itself. But, as we shall see later, the main purpose of disciplinary counseling is to alleviate the cause of misbehavior so that these causes will no longer operate so that *it will no longer be necessary for the student to offend society. The purpose is to cure and not to punish.* The student who gets into difficulties of one sort or another is treated as an individual who needs special teaching assistance, and the institution is organized to take account of the student's assets and build upon them so as to effect his rehabilitation within the limits of his abilities.

CHAPTER II

Misbehavior Viewed As Behavior

In Chap. I we discussed student discipline as a normal and to-be-expected type of student behavior, giving examples to buttress the conclusion that deviate behavior, usually called misbehavior, has occurred in many different historical periods and in a variety of cultures and nationality settings. We also characterized briefly some of the current methods used in dealing with such disciplinary behavior. Now we turn in this second chapter to a more searching analysis of that form of behavior which we call misbehavior. We shall first set the stage for our discussion by relating disciplinary counseling to educational philosophy in general and to student personnel work in particular. Such an orientation will serve to emphasize our major objective—assistance to the individual student in his personal and socialized development. In this context we shall analyze misbehavior in terms of some of the personal and social conditions which either cause it or are related to it in as yet unanalyzed ways. But first we restate our implicit educational point of view in which deviate behavior is a normal part of behavior—but a part to be changed through educational means.

The Nature of Misbehavior

Although the vast majority of students adapt adequately, acceptably, and satisfyingly to the prevailing standards and mores of social and personal conduct, school and college administrators

are thoroughly familiar with the small group that does not adjust, because of either social awkwardness or open defiance of any and all symbols of authority. Misbehavior of the students may be defined in terms of the categories of activities causing complaints and actions. Thus, a variety of complaints is made about students each year, involving alleged violations of regulations, abuse of privileges, dishonesty, plagiarism, theft, sex misconduct, drunkenness, disorderly conduct, and minor types of unbecoming or inappropriate conduct.

Detailed analyses of types of misbehavior will be presented in Chap. IV. But the reader should note here carefully that we do not rest content in our discussions of misbehavior with a categorization of complaints and actions. Throughout this book we shall be searching for the deeper and underlying *causes* of misbehavior. Therein will be discovered the real nature of misbehavior. For example, we shall not be content with a detailed and verified description of how a student cheated in an examination. Rather are we deeply concerned with learning of the motives and mechanisms which operated to produce such misbehavior. Our deeper insight does not always or even usually lead us to dismiss lightly the charge of misbehavior. But such a deeper insight, deeper than an understanding of the behavior itself, does give us better bases for planning and executing a situation in which the individual can rehabilitate himself—and that is our major strategic objective.

Many methods of reeducation, treatment, elimination, and salvage are used in coping with such problems of behavior. Student committees, faculty-student committees, faculty committees, administrative officers and counselors are used by school and collegiate institutions in the attempt to solve these problems. Yet little material has been published of the methods used and much of that available treats discipline as the seamy side of school and college life—something to be mentioned only with bated breath, behind closed doors and in vague terms, or publicly in terms of moral condemnation.

Objectively speaking, misconduct is a deviate form of behavior which ought to be studied unemotionally and with a minimum of social sanctions and bias, as in the case of any other form of be-

havior. Humanitarianly speaking, misbehavior presents a problem to be approached clinically with sympathetic insight into the adjustment of the student who, with sound psychological treatment, should be trained or retrained for adequate functioning in, and adaptation to, school, college, and community environments. Now most colleges provide realistically enough a graded series of courses in English composition and also routinely assign students to these classes in accordance with their respective abilities and preparations. Similarly they provide remedial reading and study-habit clinics to give students training in skills they might better have acquired before enrollment. The contention that schools and colleges should provide facilities for remedial training in the more difficult and intangible realms of appropriate social and ethical conduct would appear to be a reasonable extension of such sound educational policies. But such an ideal has not often been achieved and has not too frequently been sought by school and college administrators.

As was stated in Chap. I, the dominant part of a personnel analysis of discipline will always involve a preventive approach through organized and informal group activities which tap the energy and resourcefulness of students and which develop leadership and cooperativeness through desirable social recreation. Individual counseling and faculty-student contacts also serve this preventive function by assisting students to resolve problems which might otherwise lead to unacceptable behavioral symptoms. The role of other parts of a student personnel program, such as housing and financial aid, should not be underestimated in identifying and relieving personal maladjustments. Disciplinary counseling should enter the scene only when these above preventive measures have not succeeded or have not operated to redirect toward social adjustment.

In those schools and colleges which base disciplinary procedures upon the student personnel point of view, the misconduct of the student is regarded as symptomatic behavior requiring social and psychological investigation to determine the motivations of the student as well as the necessary relearning steps to be taken. Instead of seeking an appropriate form of punishment, the disciplinary counselor makes a formulation of the client's present

status in the belief that the behavioral symptoms *usually* will disappear when the underlying pressures are relieved or redirected into more acceptable channels of activities.

The following case, labeled *the forced-choice type of misbehavior*, will illustrate the dynamic interrelations of social group and individual motivational pressures with respect to misbehavior.

A freshman student with low scholarship standing, and with even lower prediction of college graduation, was charged with bringing to an examination "crib sheets" of materials he was expected to recall, unaided, from memory. The counselor's case study of this student turned up a record of earlier advice by another counselor that this student's abilities were to be found in other areas than the one in which he had persistently endeavored to succeed. Despite his laudable ambition and conscientious attention to his school work, he had finally found himself in the dangerous crisis situation of having to pass the examination in question or face exclusion from school for continued low grades. In such a "forced-choice" situation, with all of the alternatives either unachievable or unattractive, he had desperately tried to "rig" the probabilities in his favor by unacceptable means.

The instructor of the course held to a strict interpretation of the laws of the institution and insisted that the student be dropped from attendance in the University. To this instructor the fact that the cheating had been premeditated to the extent of preparing and carrying the crib sheets to the class examination—such premeditation in effect compounded the offense to make it a most serious one. But to the counselor the psychological pressures besetting the student were important factors that mitigated the offense. For example, the boy told the Discipline Committee that "that test meant more to him at the time than life itself." It was evident that here was a student who needed less, not more, psychological pressure if he were ever to face the realities of his vocational guidance problems. It was true that he could be effectively aided to choose a noncollege, economically lower occupational goal if he were excluded from college because of his cheating. But if the premeditation attendant upon the cheating were analyzed psychologically, then it would be seen as a situation that called for counseling and not for punishment.

The Discipline Committee gave the boy an F in the course and placed him on disciplinary probation. During the next few months the counselor was able to assist him in making a more realistic appraisal of his vocational and educational potentialities and of the various

possible vocational goals open to a person of his qualifications. A not unimportant aspect of the disciplinary counselor's effectiveness in advising this boy, who had been unmoved by earlier attempts at counseling, was the former counselor's acceptance of him in a friendly, helpful, and uncensuring manner, despite his misbehavior and his low aptitude for his original level of aspiration in his chosen vocation.

AN EDUCATIONAL CONCEPT OF DISCIPLINARY COUNSELING

Discipline, as administrative action, includes any activity taken against a student or student organization because of alleged conduct, activities, or other behavior which is an infraction of written or unwritten policies, regulations, and rules of the institution. The purpose of the action should be, first, to help the individual or individuals learn, or relearn, behavior which is acceptable to the group and to the institution as well as to the individual himself; and secondly, to seek social behavior or contacts of different sorts which are more congruent with the social mores and purposes of the institution of which the individual is a member.

Hawkes has stated the basic point of view of the modern concept of discipline as an integral part of higher education as follows:¹

If a boy fails to behave himself like a gentleman, the treatment that he receives should awaken a sense of his failure, a feeling of regret and shame that he has not measured up to what is expected, and a determination to conduct himself with more wisdom in the future. Automatic and arbitrary punishment, meted out by cold and unsympathetic judges as the inevitable result of misdemeanor, may have worked well in primitive society, but it does not fit in with the educational ideas of today. The task of waking boys up morally and setting their feet in the path of wholesome living is just as important a function of the college as teaching mathematics or history.

A systematic formulation of discipline as an integral part of education has not been made available from any source. But such a formulation would include an analysis of the following aspects of a policy in an educational institution as contrasted with any other type of social institution:

¹ H. E. Hawkes, *College—What's the Use?*, pp. 110-111, Doubleday & Co., Inc., New York, 1927

Who makes the *written* regulations?

Who determines the *unwritten* regulations governing behavior?

Are the regulations, both written and unwritten, changed, if at all, as the social mores change from one period to another?

By what techniques is guilt established?

Who decides what is the appropriate action to be taken?

What procedures are available for appeal and review to insure a "fair" treatment?

Who imposes penalties?

What are the forms of penalties which have educational significance?

What types of offenses are considered to be violations of the written and unwritten mores and rules and regulations?

With what frequency do these types of offenses occur, under what conditions, and by what type of students?

With what degree of seriousness, importance, or valuation are the various types of offenses considered by the institutional authorities, by the students themselves, and by society at large?

In place of a policy which provides the definitive answer to the above aspects of a sound disciplinary policy, the literature of education contains only very brief descriptions of the methods of conducting a public or semipublic trial of an offender or alleged offender, or of the action taken with respect to certain types of offense, once guilt has been established. The literature contains no description of methods of investigation to determine the facts of the alleged misbehavior, the nature of the individual's background and its relationship to the nature of the offense, or methods of apprehension and procedures of handling the individual case. The few public descriptions made of discipline in contemporary education refer usually to machinery whereby alleged offenders are brought to trial for determination of guilt; and little description is given with respect to what takes place after the action or punishment has been determined. This will be recognized as the system in use a hundred years ago in American colleges in which the faculty as a whole met as a jury to determine guilt and to take action against an individual offender. Coulter says.²

² E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, p. 81, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

thus redirecting his activities into more socially acceptable and desirable forms. The objective then is not to punish the individual, nor solely to protect the group at the expense of the individual, but rather to achieve a *balance* of protection for both so that the individual may once more take his place as a constructive citizen in the community. Punishment as such has no place in this concept of discipline, chiefly because it does not seem to be effective as a means of achieving an educational objective.

The rationale for such a conception of discipline stems from the fact that the school or university is *not* a penal institution but is rather a *training* institution, not only with regard to vocations and citizenship rights as well as political orientation, but also in the development of those personal habits which are congruent with the rights and privileges of others who likewise wish to learn and to exercise their own rights. Because of the fact that schools and colleges are training institutions, they must minimize punishment for its own sake and maximize counseling to facilitate using the student's relearning potentialities.

CONDITIONS RELATED TO MISBEHAVIOR

Certain parts of the school and collegiate way of life, unless carefully handled educationally and administratively, may produce conditions which in turn often lead to misbehavior or to deviations from the accepted mode of behavior. These are conditions within the school or college itself, but again it must be pointed out that the school or college society does not enjoy complete isolation from the community at large.

Societal Forces and Student Behavior

The general immorality and repressiveness of the medieval period had a profound effect upon student behavior in the medieval universities. Such relationship between society in general and the student society in college continues down into the twentieth century. Allen has described vividly the influences of the postwar revolution in morals and manners in the "Fabulous Twenties." The revolution was perhaps almost as violent in schools and on campuses as it was in adult society.⁴ Lee characterized this

⁴ Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday*, Chap. 5, "The Revolution in Manners and Morals," Bantam Books, New York, 1946.

same period in women's colleges in the following highly descriptive words:⁵

Twenty-five years ago the problems of social conduct in women's colleges and in coeducational institutions were comparatively simple. The authority of the church and home was accepted without dispute by the majority of students, and the campus was a continuation of the family environment. Deans and deans of women were regarded, for better or for worse, as parental substitutes . . . their power to discipline the transgressors of tradition and good taste was supreme. Those were the days when too few petticoats and too many false hair puffs became momentous issues, and the girl who lifted her skirts above her shoe tops and flashed a cease dust ruffle became the object of grave academic concern. No lady would have smoked a cigarette in public, or thought of going to a party where there was drinking. The chaperon was accepted as a part of the divine order of things, and one seldom forgot to greet her at the beginning or to bid her good-night at the end of a dance. Not even in the privacy of her bedroom were a girl's thoughts allowed to stray, for the walls were hung with "creeds" and "symphonies" and mottoes reminding her to be noble, loyal and true. It was the age of stereotyped goodness.

As is true of the descriptions of adults' social conditions and behavior, the literature of college life is full of examples of rowdy misbehavior, sexual transgressions, drinking bouts, and even murder among students. Students do not live in complete isolation from the world at large, although in many small institutions isolated geographically from urban centers, there are obviously fewer general societal conditions which have a direct and immediate effect upon student life. In large urban centers the wide range of recreational facilities, commercialized, both good and bad, undoubtedly draws some misbehavior off the campus into the wider community, this misbehavior is, therefore, not so readily identified publicly with the collegiate way of life.

Not only is the college student not completely isolated from the community at large and the world at large, but he also brings with him into the college the condition of his social background and family life and particularly the mode of behavior and ethics of his family and his community. He does not immediately divest him-

⁵ Mabel Barbee Lee, "Censoring the Conduct of College Women," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol 145, pp 444-450, April, 1930.

self or grow out of these influences when he becomes a student. If there is an effort on the part of the institution to select students who are more homogeneous with respect to social and economic conditioning, then the result is perhaps a narrower range of behavior tendencies. In most public institutions and larger private universities, however, the range of family background is great. All of these factors have a great effect upon the promptness and the completeness with which a new student is inducted into the collegiate way of life and thereby accepts and becomes motivated by the mores and moral standards of the college as opposed to the standards of his own family and community. In similar ways, students are inducted into and influenced by the mores of the modern high school.

It is frequently at this transition period of induction into a new society that some types of misbehavior occur. These deviations should be recognized as transitional deviations and as such they offer the wise counselor opportunities to help the individual to learn more specifically how he may accept and incorporate the school or college code of behavior into his own. If students, in this transition period, are dealt with from a punitive point of view, and severely at that, then the opportunity to help the individual make the complete transition may be lost. Patient teaching at the time of transition will oftentimes prove to be effective as a means of helping the individual identify and accept the new code of behavior. Severe and rigid punishment or enforcement of regulations will often produce resentment which in turn interferes still more with the transition from one way of life to another.

Restricted Curriculums and Teaching Methods

There are many more specific conditions which, unless skillfully handled from a personnel and administrative and educational point of view, will add to the incidence of misbehavior. One of these conditions is a gradually disappearing cause of misbehavior—restricted curriculums.

Under the direct influence of the European and English patterns of higher education, American colonial colleges set a prototype of liberal education in which the medieval liberal arts—grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy (the

seventh one, music, was largely ignored) were dominant. The 1642 curriculum of Harvard, instituted by President Dunster, a graduate of Cambridge's Magdalene College, set a pattern which was highly influential in America until recent years. Two other determinants of Harvard's early curriculum have dropped out of the pattern: the Renaissance and Humanistic ideal of the study of the classics, especially the works of Aristotle, and the "Reformation ideal of religious control of higher education for sectarian purposes and for the preparation of ministers"⁶

But not only was the curriculum thus severely restricted, all classes were also taught in those early days by the president, Dunster. Moreover, and more to the point of our discussion:⁷

Discipline was severe, and riots were frequent, much of the restlessness doubtless resulted from the fact that the methods of teaching were almost entirely bookish. The students listened to the instructor read the assigned books, they read the books themselves, they recited from the books, drew up outlines from the books, disputed on questions drawn from the books, and gave declamations

A comparison of the above quotation with similar ones from Rashdall's description of the teaching methods used in the University of Paris in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries will indicate the extent to which a standardized methodology of instruction has persisted in higher education. The continued persistence of the "tag ends" of medieval or even rigid modern patterns of curriculums and teaching are even today probably related to a few instances of misbehavior.

The curriculums of most contemporary colleges and of even more high schools are increasingly being broadened to provide alternative outlets for the great variety of talents and interests of students, and, as a result, certain types of misbehavior appear less frequently today. But, writing of his first years at Cornell University, beginning in 1868, Andrew Dickson White had concluded that⁸

⁶ R. Freeman Butts, *A Cultural History of Education*, p. 303, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1947.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

⁸ Andrew Dickson White, *Autobiography*, p. 348, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1917.

the greatest cause of student turbulence and dissipation was the absence of interest in study consequent upon the fact that only one course was provided, and I had arrived at the conclusion that providing various courses, suited to various aims and tastes, would diminish this evil

Restricted Recreational Opportunities

Sheldon refers to the greatly restricted opportunities for the recreation of medieval students. They could play a form of bat and ball and a few other games. But "the only source of legitimate enjoyment was derived from what Professor Rashdall has characterized as 'ecclesiastical dissipation'—that is, story-telling and feasts on saint's days."⁹

Butts generalizes on the relationship between restricted official and approved recreational opportunities in medieval universities and students' misbehavior as follows:¹⁰

The life of the student was doubtless an exhilarating one, especially on the "extracurricular" side. As antidotes for complicated lectures and texts, students engaged in all sorts of activities that were frowned upon by the university authorities, who made little effort to provide acceptable physical or social activities for students outside of the intellectual atmosphere of the classroom. The regulations listing prohibited pastimes reveal what the students enjoyed doing. Fighting and brawling were perhaps the most popular; and regulations were also issued against cock fights, tennis, gambling, singing and playing musical instruments, and the keeping of such pets as parrots, hawks, monkeys, bears, wolves, and dogs. The singing of student songs, story-telling, and drinking apparently took much time. These were natural activities in institutions where organized sports and physical education, scientific investigations of nature, and social intercourse were not admitted to standing along with intellectual training, mental discipline, and the study of books.

Elsewhere Butts summarizes the medieval educators' preoccupation with things intellectual and religious in these words, which are not wholly inappropriate for describing some contemporary institutional mores.¹¹

⁹ Henry D. Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs*, p. 4, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1901.

¹⁰ Butts, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹¹ Butts, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

. . . Acquisition of subject matter was the overpowering concern of medieval educators, along with the desire to instill proper religious attitudes among the younger students. These two concerns were the greatest legacies of the medieval heritage to education.

The concern for the development of the individual and his preparation to engage in the society in which he would live outside the church was notable by its absence. . . .

Those contemporary colleges which are church connected, or church dominated, today still may be enforcing or attempting to enforce bans against dancing, for example. These bans arose in previous generations and are unacceptable in the unwritten mores of the present generation. A wide variety of recreational opportunities, both in terms of sports, physical activity, and dancing, as well as other passive recreations such as card playing, would seem to be an extremely important way of capturing, in a normal way, the interest and enthusiasm of the student. To the student it appears that recreation is not a matter of morality, even though his elders may still feel that evil behavior invariably arises from dancing and card playing. To the modern adolescent, recreation is as normal as listening to lectures and perhaps more so. Therefore, when recreational opportunities are greatly restricted, the student is likely to feel resentment, which in turn may produce attempts to establish new forms of recreation despite the rules and regulations of the institution. Such an attempt leads to a social conflict which in turn may produce a disciplinary situation.

A clearer understanding of the great distance traveled since the early days of repression of amusements, and therefore a clearer perception of the importance of amusement in maintaining student morale, may be gained from the following extended quotation from Rashdall:¹²

A very striking feature of medieval University life (at least in English eyes) is the almost total absence of authorized or respectable amusements. The Statutes of the College founder or University disciplinarian on such matters are often more severe than they are in the repression of crime or vice. It is difficult to find in our records any allusion to recognized amusements except some vague mention of playing at ball out of doors, and within doors of singing or playing on the

¹² Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, pp. 669-671, Oxford University Press, New York, 1895

lute. But here again we are simply encountering one of the characteristics, not of Universities in particular, but of the age in general. The upper class of feudal society was an essentially military class. its amusements consisted in jousts and tournaments, hunting and hawking. Such recreations were not unnaturally considered too unclerly and too distracting as well as too expensive for the University student, and were consequently forbidden in medieval Statutes. Contempt of the body was too deeply rooted a sentiment of the religious mind for a pious College founder to recognize the necessity of bodily exercise and a free vent for animal spirits. Even "playing with a ball or a bat"—the nearest approach to "athletics" which we encounter—is at times forbidden among other "insolent" games. A sixteenth-century Statute includes the machinery of tennis or fives among the "indecent instruments" the introduction of which would generate scandal against the College; though it charitably allows playing with a soft ball in the College court. Though gambling was not so strong a passion in the north as in the south of Europe, a good many Statutes are directed against it even in northern Universities. The sternest College founders forbade games of chance and playing for money altogether; the more indulgent contented themselves with limiting the stakes to eatables or drinkables and confining the games to festivals. Chess is a pastime which might seem severe enough to propitiate the most morose disciplinarian, but it seems to have enjoyed a curiously bad reputation with the medieval moralist, and is forbidden by many academic legislatois. At Heidelberg, for instance, visits to the public chess-tables are forbidden "especially on legible [*sic*] days"; at New College the stern Bishop of Winchester includes chess among the "noxious, inordinate, and dishonest games" which are forbidden to his scholars.

Oppressive Rules and Regulations

The literature of colonial colleges, to say nothing of medieval institutions,¹⁸ is full of reports of the minute codification of of-

¹⁸ " . . . The entire mode of life, down to the minutest detail, was regulated by rules established and superintended by the university. The times for rising and retiring, the hours for the two daily meals (the *prandium* at 10 A M and the *coena* at 5 P M), the kind of clothing to be worn (naturally, of a clerical cut), the instruction, the review hours (*resumptiones*), in short, everything was governed by precept. Nor were prohibitions lacking against noise, loafing, carrying weapons, the introduction of women, etc. It may safely be assumed, and if needful, it can be proved by numerous documents, that then, as now, various ways were known by which both the pro-

fenses and punishments for misbehavior among students. Even some colleges today present long lists of "do's and don't's" to students with the expectation that they will accept these socially inherited, or administratively imposed regulations, from the past as their own today. If one considers rules and regulations as verbal summaries of accepted behavior refined by moral standards, then it would seem reasonable that, periodically, each student generation must go through a process of learning to formulate and accept, or to modify in a systematic manner, the rules adopted by themselves as governing their behavior.¹⁴ To impose regulations by administrative authority, without teaching students an understanding of behavior controls, seems to be a curious contradiction of the very fundamental nature of an educational institution.

In this sense then, the maintenance of oppressive rules and regulations may be an institutional cause of certain forms of misbehavior among students. Some healthy adolescents with a streak of negativism derived from a generalized revolt against persons in authority may wish to test out the rules and see whether they really are operative. This "showdown" situation can be prevented and better institutional morale thereby maintained by the pedagogical device of having new students go through the rule-making process, at least to the extent of understanding how rules are made and why the current ones were made. Frequently such a

hibitions and the precepts could be circumvented." (Friedrich Paulsen, *The German Universities and University Study*, p. 19, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1906)

¹⁴ We appear to have made considerable progress in universities since the medieval period when it was necessary to dictate manners and behavior of the *then very young students*, in such details as the following ". . . 'Wash your hands in the morning and, if there is time, your face, use your napkin and handkerchief, eat with three fingers only, and don't gorge, don't be boisterous or quarrelsome at table; don't stare at your neighbour or his plate; don't criticize the food, don't pick your teeth with your knife or wipe them on the cloth; don't butter your bread with your finger, don't whisper or go to sleep, don't spit on or over the table!' Here and there we find a further touch of the age: 'Scrape bones with your knife but don't gnaw them; when you have done with them, put them in the bowl or on the floor!'" (Charles H. Haskins, *Studies in Medieval Culture*, p. 80, Oxford University Press, New York, 1929)

learning process on the part of administration and students leads to a revision of the rules to bring them up to date in terms of evolving understanding of morality and behavior.

In order to live effectively with students, we need better understanding of the point of view both of those authorities who adopt and enforce rules and regulations and, on the other hand, of the students who revolt against rules which they consider violations of common sense and reasonableness. In discussing student life in English universities, Sheldon reminds us of both these points of view, how unreasonable rules get made and how young students react to them, in the following pertinent lines:¹⁵

. . . The laxity of morals and of theological opinion which prevailed at the universities was a cause of grave anxiety to the Puitan majority in Parliament during the early years of the seventeenth century. The university authorities, to disarm criticism, endeavoured to enforce a series of minute regulations, backed by numerous fines and other punishments, the undergraduates were treated like schoolboys. The students manifested their resentment at this policy, neglecting the rules, annoying their instructors, and setting the authorities at defiance. They frequently engaged in conflicts with the townsmen, and were notorious for their rudeness to strangers. Instead of adopting the modest costume enjoined by their superiors, they appeared on the streets "in hoses of unseemly greatness or disguised fashion, excessive ruffs and apparrell of velvet and silk."

Disciplinary Regimentation of Behavior

Rashdall refers to flogging as a pedagogical device to achieve conformity of behavior and to eliminate misbehavior.¹⁶ In the early period of education, whipping was an accepted pedagogical device with respect to behavior development. Today whipping is no longer accepted as an effective means of teaching or of facilitating learning on the part of the student. But the harsh regi-

¹⁵ Sheldon, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁶ Rashdall says, "The sixteenth century was the flogging age *par excellence* in the English Universities" (*Op. cit.*, p. 623). Rashdall also refers to the flogging of clerks at the Sorbonne for serious offenses. (*Op. cit.*, p. 621.) Paulsen also mentions the "extensive use of the rod or birch" as an instrument for discipline in medieval German schools. (See Paulsen, *German Education*, p. 31, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1908.)

mentation point of view is sometimes continued even though corporal punishment has been abandoned in high schools and in institutions of higher education. Since many students are in that adolescent stage in which regimentation and oppressive authoritative order-giving are resented, conformity is usually more readily achieved by persuasion than by coercion. It used to be said that a military strictness was characteristic of the relationship between educational authorities and students. But today this analogy is no longer appropriate, in large part, because the most effective military leaders now recognize that morale among military men is best maintained, not by a strict authoritarian relationship, but rather by a firm relationship which is more kindly and humanitarian in its contents and emphasis.

Student Self-government and Discipline

The origin of student self-government in the modern university, according to Sheldon, appears to be an attempt of President Gregory at the University of Illinois to establish self-government in 1868 as a means of controlling misbehavior. A student organization was formed which, among other things, established laws governing gambling, drinking, trespassing, etc., and set fines from a few cents to five dollars for violations. The system seems to have worked well in controlling misbehavior until the novelty wore off and student leaders became negligent and irresponsible.¹⁷

Without entering into the complications of this aspect of general student life, it is evident that participation by students in high schools and colleges in management of their own affairs through student government and through establishment of customs and mores may become an effective and acceptable means of controlling behavior. The absence of these social-government institutions often produces misbehavior which cannot be controlled by any means. Borrowing in part from the experience of modern industry the fundamental principle of participation in management by those to be managed, student government is increasingly accepted in educational institutions. In part through the instigation of the followers of the Progressive Education movement, students are coming to have an increasingly important role in regulating

¹⁷ Sheldon, *op cit.*, pp. 256-258.

their own affairs. But the movement antedates Progressive Education, as is indicated by Sheldon's generalization that from the time of the Middle Ages students have formed organizations for various purposes. The student "nations" or organizations of the University of Paris operated to provide an artificial citizenship which students needed to replace the natural citizenship the students had given up upon leaving their home cities. This banding together for purposes of self-protection from exploitation and harm by townspeople and greedy landlords also involved some attempt to control behavior within the nation.¹⁸

But student government is not an unmixed blessing, especially when student participation leads to *exclusive, independent, and unrestricted control* of their own affairs. For example, in the seventeenth century German universities, the "nations" of students degenerated into secret and irresponsible organizations which reduced freshmen to a "state that bordered on penal servitude,"¹⁹ far more extreme in form than the "hazing" and "Hellweek" behavior which persists in some contemporary American fraternities and sororities, both those in high schools and those in colleges.

Another student organization of early self-government was the "hospitia" or inn which later became the resident college. These early student dormitories at first elected their own "principal" who had limited disciplinary powers. The early colleges at Oxford and Paris were endowed resident hospitia for financially poor students who initially participated in rule making and in government of the establishment.²⁰

In connection with our discussion of student government, it should be noted that Cowley and Waller have pointed out and illustrated the principle and mechanism of controlling student behavior by means of student mores and customs.²¹ These mores, customs, and other self-governing social mechanisms are *effective only when they are accepted by and have the support of the students themselves*. The undermining of this acceptance caused

¹⁸ Sheldon, *op cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁹ Sheldon, *op cit.*, pp. 12-14.

²⁰ Sheldon, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

²¹ W. H. Cowley and Willard Waller, "A Study of Student Life," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 132-142, March, 1935.

the disintegration of the early form of self-government at Illinois, a story repeated at numerous other institutions. In fact it cannot be too strongly emphasized that these means of controlling behavior can be effective only in so far as they overcome the widespread attitude of students that "The professors are employed to catch us; it is our business to escape by any means in our power. . . ." ²² As long as students think of teachers and administrators as their "natural enemies," and as long as professors and administrators think of their functions as "policemen and night watchmen," as was the case as late as 1880, ²³ the redirection of misbehavior through student mores, customs, and self-government will be only a pious hope.

German Students' Self-responsibility

In discussing student control of their own behavior, we may point out a somewhat similar point of view held by Paulsen with respect to German university life of the nineteenth century. Paulsen characterizes this concept as follows. "Freedom from outward compulsion is therefore the symbol of student days, the much vaunted academic freedom." ²⁴ With the increasing age of students from thirteen to sixteen in the medieval universities ²⁵ to an average of twenty years in the German universities of the nineteenth century ²⁶ and also with the making over of the universities into scientific and advanced institutions, almost complete personal freedom was given to the student. After he was matriculated and had promised the rector to observe the rules, the student was left entirely to his own devices. He became his own master, chose his own associates and surroundings, set his own daily tasks and otherwise lived his own life and accepted complete responsibility for that life. Paulsen contended that "pennalism" (often brutal) in German universities. ²⁷

²² Sheldon, *op cit*, pp 255-256

²³ *Ibid*, pp. 95-97.

²⁴ Paulsen, *The German Universities and University Study*, p 265.

²⁵ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, p 604

²⁶ Paulsen, *The German Universities. Their Character and Historical Development*, p 76, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1895.

²⁷ Paulsen, *The German Universities and University Study*, p. 170.

. . . represented the swaggering opposition to all binding rules which young men who have outgrown the discipline of the school-room are fond of exhibiting. Young men who are not drilled for examinations, but serve some science, who come into daily personal relation with the leaders of their science, do not feel the need of demonstrating their academic freedom by insults against law and order . . . the academic life of the nineteenth century has undergone a great change, a change from the puerile to the manly.

Stages of Maturity

The age at which students go to colleges and universities is an important factor with respect to the problem of behavior. In the medieval period most of the students were enrolled at thirteen to sixteen years of age, and even during the nineteenth century many of the students in the American colleges enrolled at fourteen or fifteen years of age.²⁸ At this time of life the ordinary adolescent is not and presumably never has been ready for full mature control of his own behavior, especially when he is separated from the normal restraining influences of parents and relatives in his home. Under such conditions, excessive participation in what he conceives to be desirable manly behavior follows as a matter of course. Initiation into the so-called gentlemanly art of drinking is a case in point and in some colleges it is almost a tribal initiation ritual marking the transition from dependence of adolescence to independence of adulthood.

If we compare behavior of young students in medieval universities with behavior of students today, we may understand some of the effects of maturity and previous experience upon control of behavior. A full statistical study has not yet been made, but verbal reports seem to indicate the absence of extreme instances of misbehavior among the more mature and usually chronologically older veteran students currently enrolled in universities and colleges. It might be supposed that one of the important elements in this situation is the fact that veterans are more sober and earnest and therefore misbehave less frequently than was true of prewar students, that *they have passed through the "horseplay" adolescent stage of transitional development while they were*

²⁸ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

away from the campus Supporting observations come from British educators:²⁰

In the past few months there has been a good deal of discussion in the press about the quality and character of ex-service men and women now in attendance at the universities. Some middle-aged dons find them overserious, and it would appear, though this is not precisely stated, rather dull. It is alleged that they provide a striking contrast to the bright young things who constituted the undergraduate population of a generation ago. It is well to remember, however, that it has always been one mark of advancing age to think that things are not what they were when we were very young, and that, in particular, the younger generation is inferior. It is not youth that changes, but the dons who grow old.

If the undergraduates of today are serious-minded and hard-working, they are none the worse for that. Both qualities are needed in the present age. Certainly they are more balanced than was usual with undergraduates in the past. They have too much experience of life to be carried away by violent enthusiasms or to run after new "isms" and "ologies" merely because they are new. The suggestion that they lack vitality and a sense of adventure is, we believe, utterly false. Many of our young men have crowded into a few years enough adventure to spice several lifetimes, and now they want a period of quiet. There is, moreover, in the bleak world in which they find themselves, little justification for radiant vivacity . . .

The university teacher of today is fortunate in having such pupils. These ex-service men and women, because of their maturity and wider experience, are better equipped to benefit from a university course than the average young person fresh from school.

If one conceives of some behavior deviations as inevitable during the transition period from dependency to relative independence, and if this transition takes place away from a college campus, then the student who reemrolls in the college at a later stage of maturity will usually exhibit a differing pattern of behavior. The commonly observed maturity of graduate school students is a case in point. The compulsion of veterans to "make up lost time," and to get their first adult job and to establish families

²⁰ Quoted in *School and Society*, Vol. 65, No. 1689, p. 78, May 10, 1947, from "Notes" in *Universities Review*, February, 1947, issued by Association of University Teachers.

are all far more potent determiners of behavior than were the rules and regulations operative at an earlier stage of maturing development. If this thesis is true, then, after the veterans have all graduated from college, we may see a return to some of the earlier forms of misbehavior among the younger students who then enroll directly from high school and who have not been detoured through a period of maturing war service between high school and college

Personality deviations

Some cases of misbehavior have their origin in an emotional condition of a pathological type. The kleptomaniac may serve as a case in point. It follows, for example, that every disciplinary counselor should explore the possibility that a student charged with cheating in examinations is psychologically compelled to cheat because of some pathology. To find the cause of misbehavior, we must first determine the possible emotional factors which may be related to a particular case of misbehavior. Recurrent experiences with both juvenile and adult delinquents have revealed a close relationship, in many cases, between emotional conditions and social behavior deviations. For a technical discussion of this topic, the reader is referred to Lawson G. Lowiey, "Delinquent and Criminal Personalities"³⁰. Sexual misbehavior may thus have its cause in fundamental conflicts of a psychiatric nature, and the mere punishment of such individuals is not a sufficient pedagogical device to bring about the kind of behavior which is desired. Parenthetically, excluding the individual from the high school or college community does not, of course, solve the problem from the standpoint of the pathological causes. Rather is psychiatric treatment a necessary preparatory, or even parallel, action before disciplinary counseling is undertaken.

This type of relationship between personality factors and misbehavior is illustrated in the following case:

A mature veteran-student was reported to the counselor because of exhibitory behavior near the college campus. Upon questioning, he readily reported facts about his psychosexual development. Before

³⁰ Chap. 26 in *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*, edited by J. McV. Hunt, The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1944.

leaving for military service, his older brother had given him a book about sex to read and his father had discussed with him problems of venereal disease and pregnancy. But this eleventh-hour orientation was not fully effective and his own limited sexual experience while abroad left him with feelings of disgust and revulsion. His reported guilt feeling of these earlier experiences seemed to be identical with his present feelings following his exhibitory behavior. Recognizing the probability of deeply repressed traumatic episodes, the counselor referred the student for psychiatric diagnosis and treatment. Following this referral the counselor was consulted by members of the family for orientation and interpretation of what to them was a stigmatic experience for the family. Six months later, conferences with the student indicated that considerable progress had been made with respect to his insight into his personal development. But the extent of progress was not such as to indicate that complete or even minimal adjustment had yet been achieved. However, the misbehavior of exhibitionism had not recurred.

A second case of this type will illustrate how persistent misbehavior leads to initially forced counseling.

A mature graduate student living for some years in a college dormitory had acquired a record of irritating and persistent disregard for the mores and customs of that student community. She smoked incessantly, drank liquor as frequently and did little to cover up the nastiness of her human-relations techniques on the mornings following her solitary and also her convivial episodes. Her roommates, counselor, and dormitory neighbors all were enlisted in efforts to calm her following such an episodic temper outburst. For many months the proctors and counselors in the dormitory exhibited the patience of Job in their attempts to use their most effective counseling methods to persuade her to cease and desist in her bacchanalian holidays on the one hand and her violent and antiperson emotional outbursts on the other hand. But, in this case, their patient remonstrances and persuasion were no more effective techniques of control or counseling than were the rules and regulations of the Student Council. This chronologically mature graduate student would have nothing to do with such methods of human relations. Following one particularly violent outburst, the counselor discussed the case with the disciplinary counselor, who insisted that the girl be referred at once to her for counseling. But the resident dormitory counselor asked for another opportunity to insist upon nonadministrative psychiatric consultation. This time the stu-

dent was presented with a firm alternative situation—either see a psychiatrist or prepare to move from the dormitory. Thereupon followed months of effective consultation with the psychiatrist which brought to light ambivalent feelings toward family and particularly toward a deceased brother. The girl's behavior improved, her drinking decreased, and some greater measure of emotional control returned—as reported by the counselors at the time of the girl's graduation.

Rigid Social Control in Home and Preparatory School

During the early part of the twentieth century in America, one of the widely advocated methods of regulating and controlling the behavior of early male adolescents was patterned somewhat after an early variation of the military discipline system. Within the home, strict "command" relationships were maintained between parents and sons. In many cases unruly sons who refused to accept this command relationship and consequently revolted and flaunted authority, were "taught" discipline in a military boarding school, or in later years, were urged to join the Army. Girls were usually taught discipline (which usually meant "conformity" to adult regulations) by an effective, sweeping, and detailed set of social mores. Strict chaperonage, early to bed, decorum and meekness in behavior, and restrained "ladylike" demeanor were among the verbal admonitions used to enforce and impose adult-originated mores.

Sometimes these parental controls, reinforced by moral and religious sanctions, became oppressive and subsequently produced the familiar reaction of sons running away from home and daughters becoming meek schoolteachers. Occasionally the roles were reversed, and the sons became schoolteachers and the daughters ran away with the local ne'er-do-well. But whatever the form of the reaction, excessive restriction and oppression in the home and school *always produced a reaction of some sort*. Even meek conformity was a definite aftereffect of repression and control, often desired by some overzealous parents and schoolteachers. And it was not until the child guidance clinics and parental education movement taught us the subtle but profound effects of meek conformity, that we began to regard it as a type of deviate behavior to be prevented. But another type of reaction is more relevant to

our present discussion than the reactions of meek children who "didn't cause trouble for anyone." The opposite reaction—revolt, flagrant breaking of rules or general misbehavior—was often as certainly produced by oppressive regulation of behavior as was the desired habit of conformity and meekness. Every counselor of students is familiar with the case of both boys and girls who, when living away from parents for the first time, run wild with their newly gained freedom. Much of the misbehavior observable among high school seniors and especially among college freshmen stems from the excessive restriction of the home, a cause-effect relationship often more readily perceived by parents after, rather than before, misbehavior reveals itself.³¹

Perhaps better insight will be derived from an analysis of this behavior couplet, action-reaction, when seen in another and radically different culture. The following description of student life in nineteenth century German universities will serve to highlight the conditions of precollege home and society restrictions as producers of misbehavior in some students.³²

³¹ Apparently this is not entirely a phenomenon of the modern age. Compayré quotes Saint Anselm to this effect.

"So too, finally, in matters of discipline, it happened more than once in the height of the Middle Ages, that certain minds in advance of their times, protested against the use of corporal chastisements, and demanded gentler and more liberal regulations. Such was Geison who, in his *opusculum de Parvulis ad Christum trahendis*, enjoined the masters to have a fatherly tenderness for their pupils, and interdicted the employment of the rod. Such also was Saint Anselm, whose often quoted protest is well known. 'Day and night,' said an abbot to him, 'we do not cease to chastise the children confided to our care, and they grow worse and worse.' Anselm replied, 'Indeed! You do not cease to chastise them! And when they are grown up what will they become? Idiotic and stupid. A fine education that, which makes brutes of men! . . . If you were to plant a tree in your garden, and were to enclose it on all sides so that it could not extend its branches, what would you find when, at the end of several years, you set it free from its bonds? A tree whose branches would be bent and crooked, and would it not be your fault, for having so unreasonably confined it?' " (Gabriel Compayré, *Abelard and the Origins and Early History of Universities*, pp. 302-303, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1893.)

³² Sheldon, *op cit*, p. 35. See also Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German*, pp. 307-308, Oxford University Press, New York, 1930.

Before attempting to characterize the German student life, we must note its relation to the social system of which it forms a part, and particularly its relation to the lower schools. In the gymnasias the youth have been watched for eight or ten years, drilled rigorously, and kept in strict subordination. All forms of organized school life are denied them, including (until recently) athletic games; they are frequently overworked. When the freshman enters the university, he is for the first time completely his own master; a new life has dawned upon him. He hardly knows which way to turn his steps, every prospect seems so fair. It is no wonder that, to the German, his student days seem in a peculiar sense the springtime of life, and one is hardly surprised to hear of excesses; they are the natural reaction against his former confinement. In earlier years this feeling was heightened by the prospect which opened before the *Bursch*. After completing his course, he went back to live in a police state, where the government told him what to believe, and in many ways limited his freedom. Under the old *regime* in Germany the university was the one free institution in society; studenthood was the one free and glorious period of life when the man might defy the authorities and laugh at conventionality. In consequence, German student clubs have always possessed a more marked degree of individuality than student clubs of other nationalities, in Germany they represent to a greater extent the free play of youth.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have discussed certain aspects of misbehavior viewed as behavior; that is, as to-be-expected reactions to, or products of, certain societal conditions. We have contended that misbehavior, as well as behavior, is produced by conditions and causes, some of which are found in students' homes and others of which arise in societal and cultural processes and institutions. Indeed, some forms of misbehavior may be caused by conditions within the high school, college or university.

Whatever the origin, the importance of this viewpoint of the nature of misbehavior lies in its usefulness in finding ways and means of changing misbehavior into acceptable behavior, through a program of rehabilitation which emerges from a true insight into the causes of that misbehavior. This type of rehabilitation is not

possible without an intensive understanding of the offending student. For that reason, in the following chapters we shall outline and describe methods and techniques involved in a program of disciplinary counseling, which build such counseling upon diagnosed knowledge of the individual student.

CHAPTER III

Administration of Disciplinary Counseling

In the modern American community several institutions and agencies concern themselves with law breakers, delinquents, and criminals. Complaints are usually made by citizens against law breakers, and frequently unlawful behavior is seen by policemen on their routine patrolling. The police force apprehends offenders and disposes of many cases through its own machinery without direct participation by citizens. Following detection, courts and juries determine guilt of those charged with law violations and assign the appropriate penalty. Jails, work houses, and prisons are maintained for punishing and for segregating the more serious criminals. All of these law-protection agencies operate within the framework of civil and criminal law and established enforcement procedures, the function of which is to maintain an orderly citizenry.

The precise counterpart of all these social institutions and enforcement procedures is not found in the American high school or college today. It is true that in the school or on the campus, as in the community, complaints may be made by the citizens, *i.e.*, students, faculty, and residents of the community. But, in contrast with other communities, teachers, principals, university police, watchmen, and maintenance personnel do not make formal

arrests of students except in unusual instances. Students may be apprehended in some offenses by these enforcement officers, but most complaints are made to some academic or administrative official who deals with students' delinquency. Courts and juries are replaced by committees composed of teachers, students, or both. For the past several centuries, no special university jail or detention home segregated the offending student from his fellows.¹ The structure and procedures of such a program derive from the charter of the school or college and the regulations established by the superintendent, the principal, the trustees or regents, the president, the faculty, and by the students themselves.

Despite such differences, however, the purpose of all enforcement and disciplinary procedures, in college as in the community, is to maintain an orderly citizenry. Since the modern school and college are societies, or at least communities, radically different from the ordinary adult community, it is not unusual that special protective and disciplinary procedures should be established, all differing from those of the ordinary community. These special agencies and procedures will be discussed in the following sections. Most of our discussion will be restricted to the college situation.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The prevailing educational philosophy of the college moulds the organizational structure of the disciplinary program. Affiliation with a religious movement, status as a public or private institution, the attained stage of development of student self-government, and the community setting of the college—all these and many other influences merge into a structured program. In American colleges today five major kinds of structural organization of the disciplinary program are visible. These are: (1) faculty committee, (2) student committee, (3) faculty and student commit-

¹ The medieval universities maintained a special rector's jail, in which convicted students were lodged for a short period of time for certain offenses. The establishment of special student jails originated in the earlier assignment to university authorities of such responsibility, since students, as special citizens, were not subject to the authority of the local civil officials or courts.

tee, (4) deans of men, women, and students, and (5) personnel officer. We shall discuss each type briefly.

Faculty Committee

In medieval universities the rector, functioning alone, appears to have been the disciplinary officer, sitting as a court to determine guilt and meting out penalties for retribution of that guilt. No reference is made in medieval literature to participation by teachers in discipline except in the general enforcement of regulations by the detection and reporting of offenders. In contrast, a century ago in early American colonial colleges, and until a few decades past, the college faculty as a whole sat as a court for long periods of deliberation. The literature of college histories is stuffed with the wordy records of such deliberations and to read these dusty records is to perceive the recent progress made in freeing teachers from one of their unpleasant noninstructional duties. Such a contrasting review also highlights the recent development of a more effective and more humane program of rehabilitation of offenders.

The use of the entire faculty for formal hearings has little to commend itself. The social setting of a disciplinary "trial" inhibits the development of the intimate interpersonal relationships so necessary in disciplinary procedures if the personal growth of the student is to be furthered. The stiff formality of such situations would seem to defeat the educational purpose of a disciplinary program. To the faculty, few of whom may know the student, the delinquent appears somewhat as a culprit, on trial for his misdoings, an irritating nuisance taking valuable time from research, or as an adolescent prankster of minor stature.

In recent times small committees have replaced faculty meetings in disciplinary matters. Haggerty and Brumbaugh found that faculty committees were appointed in publicly controlled middle western institutions in far greater frequency than in privately controlled or junior colleges.²

² William J. Haggerty and A. J. Brumbaugh, "The Student in College and University," *North Central Association Quarterly*, Publication No. 13, April and October, 1939, Office of the Secretary, Commission on Institutions of Higher Education.

The effectiveness of the modern type of faculty participation through a special committee will be determined by the point of view held by its members. If these members are chosen because of seniority alone, or if they are selected haphazardly, they may represent an older, more conservative educational point of view, or they may be disinterested in anything other than the speedy administration of "stern justice." If, on the other hand, committee members are selected for humane and professional qualities and sympathetic interest in students, the committee can be of outstanding educational value through its handling of cases of misbehaviors.

Two decades ago Hopkins concluded as a result of intensive study of the personnel programs of 14 institutions:¹

Faculty groups in matters of discipline are sticklers for adhering to principle. Those representatives charged with the enforcement of faculty rules find the job unskome because frequently they see the need of using the pickax instead of the case-knife (Allusion is to "Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn") They are not permitted to do this, however, by the faculty. There is another difficulty in faculty administration of discipline, and that is that in many cases they feel that they are the parties offended against, and in this state of mind they are incapable of adopting an impartial attitude toward the offense or the offender.

Student Committee

A second type of structure utilizes the services of a student disciplinary committee. In this kind of organization, responsible, mature students are selected by other students, by student groups, or by the university administration. Rarely will such a committee have extensive jurisdiction over disciplinary matters, rather is it usually used for the disposition of less serious cases. Serious cases are usually handled by the president, by some administrative officer, or by a faculty committee.

The use of students for disciplinary purposes should be differentiated from that type of student self-government which operates in residential units such as dormitories, fraternities, or sororities.

¹ L. B. Hopkins, "Personnel Procedure in Education," *Educational Record Supplement*, Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 51, October, 1926.

These units are local units of student government rather than all-university in scope and will be treated in a later section.

Haggerty and Brumbaugh found that administrative and faculty committees and student governing boards were more frequently used for disciplinary purposes in privately controlled institutions than in public universities.⁴ Such schools usually have smaller student enrollment, and, being subject to no state or municipal control, are relatively free and publicly isolated to experiment with this form of administrative structure.

There are both advantages and disadvantages in the use of the student committee for control of disciplinary cases. On a relatively small and socially cohesive campus, a high level of morale and *esprit de corps* is more easily secured and maintained. In contrast, on the large campus of a state university many diverse social, ethical, and occupational elements and crosscurrents tend to fragment the campus into isolated and sometimes insulated special-interest groups. In small groups possessing high morale, students usually shoulder their responsibilities with seriousness and thoughtfulness. In such situations much can be learned through the use of a student disciplinary committee. For one thing, the faculty can keep abreast of the ever-changing mores of the student body as they are reflected in student discussions and debate. Then too, there may be some tendency on the part of students to avoid getting into difficulty if they have to face a committee of their fellow students.

Despite these and other important advantages, it is the belief of the authors that the disadvantages of this kind of program more than balance the advantages. It is universally reported that student disciplinarians tend to be rather harsh and severe in dealing with infractions committed by their classmates. Because the offender may jeopardize student privileges in one way or another, or because of moral rigidity, student committees have a tendency to make a scapegoat of the culprit. Another serious defect is the immaturity of student members to carry *in full* the heavy responsibility for sifting and verifying complex and often conflicting facts and opinions and for making morally complex and far-reaching judgments and decisions.

⁴ Haggerty and Brumbaugh, *op cit.*, p. 48.

If the full resources of the university are to be brought to bear upon the student case to effect his reeducation and to make him a suitable and desirable campus citizen, then it is clear that few students can bring to this task either the experience, the objectivity, or the training which carefully selected faculty members have to offer. Teachers specializing in the human or behavioral sciences, who have no personal stake in the threat to student privileges, and who nevertheless keep in close touch with student life are less likely to be shocked or stampeded by delinquent misbehavior. Having a long-range point of view, they are more likely to look to the future and not to concentrate upon the malodorous characteristics of the situation at hand. They are in a better position to plan a rehabilitation program, not only because of their maturity and experience, but because they are better acquainted with educative resources available within the college. Hawkes and Hawkes reached the same conclusion.⁶

If it is merely a question of obtaining evidence as to the facts in a case of alleged misdemeanor, there is no reason to suppose that a group of serious students cannot get the evidence as well as anyone. If it is a question of deciding whether the evidence indicates that a certain rule has been broken, a board of students is entirely competent to reach such a decision. If, however, the question is one of determining just what the human situation really is, and if the college really desires to leave the culprit in a better rather than a worse position with regard to his outlook on the future, there can be no doubt that someone ought to have part in the problem of discipline who has a longer range of view on the perplexities of youth than any student committee can possibly have achieved.

Faculty-Student Committee

The third type of structure is a combination of the first two. The faculty members of a joint committee may be appointed by the president or by the university senate; the student members by the president, a student dean, or by student groups, such as the student council. This arrangement combines some of the best features of faculty-student committees while side-stepping many

⁶ Herbert E. Hawkes and Anna L. Rose Hawkes, *Through a Dean's Open Door*, pp. 199-200, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1945.

of their disadvantages. If the faculty representatives continue to serve on the committee, year after year, the turnover among the student members will not seriously disrupt the desired continuity. It is true that each year some time will be required to orient new student members about point of view and techniques and precedents. And until the new members have been indoctrinated, they may indeed, constitute either a drag on the committee or a handicap. But more important, as in the case of all student committees, this combination of faculty and students may give the student body confidence that star chamber sessions will not occur. It must be kept in mind that this confidence is not always present nor always justified when faculty committees alone sit in judgment.

This type of committee structure suffers, however, from the same major defect that exists in the other two types of committees. The committee cannot function effectively throughout the entire range of disciplinary processes and procedures. For example, there are difficulties in securing and maintaining records. There are difficulties in following through beyond the committee hearing itself, in so far as the enforcement of penalties and the reeducation of the student is concerned. Unless some full-time permanent staff member works closely with the committee, its functioning, no matter how constructively oriented, tends to be weakened and dissipated as the years pass.

Disciplinary Officers

A fourth alternative is the centralizing of all disciplinary procedures in the offices of deans of men, women, and students, or in the president of the college. In publicly controlled institutions, this form of structure predominates over other types.⁶ In many institutions the responsible administrative officer is associated with a committee which he may consult, but this official is the primary functionary in so far as the disciplinary program is concerned. The use of one or two officers in the administration of discipline insures a uniformity of treatment and the centralization of records which Hawkes and Hawkes believe so important. These authors rightly point out that proper evaluation of the situ-

⁶ Haggerty and Brumbaugh, *op cit*, p. 48.

ation will not result unless all personnel records, *not merely disciplinary records*, about the student are used and unless a consistent approach to disciplinary matters can be assured.⁷

Even with a committee form of structure, in unusual or serious cases, the dean or the president may feel it necessary to conduct a thorough investigation of a disciplinary case. Since this requires many hours of patient, thorough questioning, balancing of facts, and judgment making, one may readily see the difficulties involved when the number of situations is multiplied by scores or hundreds. The necessary amount of time consumed would be prohibitive to most administrative officers. When the time required for rehabilitation counseling is added, the administration of discipline becomes either unwieldy and disproportionately time demanding or a function in which time corners must be cut so that other facets of the student program are not slighted. Saving the administrator's time by using counselors for rehabilitation produces many serious difficulties which will be discussed in a later section.

Discipline as Personnel Work

A fifth type of discipline structure may be called the student personnel form of disciplinary administration. This structure, concerning which this book is written, utilizes *the full-time services of one or more psychologically trained counselors, as well as a faculty committee*. It involves no formal student participation through committee membership, but such a modification might be satisfactorily worked out. It is a relatively new form of administrative organization and has the distinctive feature of a professional personnel worker who devotes full time to the functions of adjudicating complaints *and* rehabilitating the student offenders.

The counselor receives the complaints, investigates, and adjudicates them. *Paralleling this process is one of the central features of the program, the case study of the individual who has been involved in the offense, made by professionally trained counselors.* The various social and psychological areas of the student's life are studied in an effort to understand the personality factors underlying the alleged misbehavior. The offense itself is considered as

⁷ Hawkes and Hawkes, *op cit.*, pp. 201-202.

symptomatic of possible maladjustment. Treatment often consists of correcting any underlying maladjustments and helping the student to acquire insight into his maladjustments and their consequent behavior, and, in addition, to acquire a desire to avoid maladjustments and misbehavior situations. Some individuals who have long-standing patterns of maladaptation are given psychiatric treatment rather than punishment. At any rate, punishment is not doled out to fit the crime, rather *treatment fits the offender*. Part of the treatment consists in motivating the student to acquire insight and understanding of his behavior.

The *faculty disciplinary committee* is an integral part of this type of program. Its members are chosen from appropriate fields, such as medicine, law, psychology, education, and sociology. Teacher members have no personal stake in the dynamics of disciplinary situations, but rather do they contribute points of view and knowledge from areas of instruction which are primarily concerned objectively with the human being in his adjustments to his environment.

The committee reviews all disciplinary cases and meets personally with a small proportion of the students involved in serious difficulties. Students are presented to the committee when the charge or situation is so serious that separation from the institution may be recommended. The committee also reviews charges which may involve a basic aspect of university policy, or they may investigate an institutional situation which calls for a preventive attack on a broad front. Occasionally a student may be referred to the committee because the counselor feels he is unable to make a satisfactory decision about the disposition of the case. In addition to these examples of uses of the committee, the student who feels he has been unfairly treated may appeal the decision of the counselor to the committee, or the counselor may refer the matter directly to the committee in order to satisfy himself, the student, or both.

There may be disadvantages in not permitting student officers to participate in committee deliberations, but the authors believe that the advantages are so overwhelming as to overcome the objections to the program. The primary advantage is in the technical and professionalized type of service which carries out the university's basic contract—to educate the student in the best

way known to modern education. Centralization of records, continuity of program, and consistency of approach from individual to individual and from year to year are additional advantages. Not only is the basic attack on the broad area of discipline desirable, as opposed to the isolated individual case, but the use of a *specialized consulting committee* broadens the scope of the program. Such a committee should be vested with authority to investigate general student situations which give rise to disciplinary problems and to recommend policies and actions designed to correct them. The remaining sections of this chapter and the following chapters of the book will outline various aspects of this fifth structure for the handling of student disciplinary cases.

A CHANGE IN EMPHASIS

Increasingly in the past two decades personnel workers have contended that punishment was not an effective way of handling discipline, and have contended that supplementary personnel methods ought to be utilized. Armstrong discussed in some detail before deans of men in 1927 the problems which beset a dean of men and the ambivalent feelings which result.⁸ He pointed out that disciplinary practices vary widely among institutions and even within institutions. Within most colleges everyone seemed anxious to get rid of disciplinary problems and no one wished to assume responsibility. Disciplinary boards and committees were not carefully selected with a view to securing faculty members in close touch with students and sympathetic with younger people. Further difficulty arose from the rotation of committee membership, which he says "prevents men with good possibilities from ripening in their judgment and experience."⁹ Attempts to solve all problems of conduct through legislative and judicial methods seemed to him to be antiquated and outmoded and seldom did they attempt to get at the basis of problems of individual students. Efforts to prevent discipline were virtually unknown, and the kinds of action which could be taken against students were very limited and some of them very unsatisfactory.

Armstrong further discussed the foundations of the methods

⁸ Secretaries' Notes of the Ninth Annual Conference of Deans and Advisors of Men, 1927, pp. 57-63.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

most commonly used in colleges and identified them closely with the civil court system. But, he contended, these methods and points of view of the civil courts were not suited to colleges and to college students who are not adults, but somewhat immature individuals in their late adolescence. Such individuals cannot and should not be treated through formal judicial methods. In line with these concepts, two decades ago Northwestern University made a serious attempt to treat disciplinary cases in ways which were consistent with modern educational and psychological knowledge. Representatives from mental hygiene, philosophy, physical education, and religion were appointed to a disciplinary committee, and Armstrong attempted to follow cases for a long period of time. Perhaps the *unwritten* literature of student personnel work contains other reports of attempts to integrate discipline and personnel work. The authors did find much hortatory dogma, but no descriptions of concrete programs other than that by Armstrong.

PROCEDURES IN DISCIPLINARY COUNSELING¹⁰

Little has been written about the step-by-step process a student follows after being charged with participation in a disciplinary situation. Obviously the disciplinary process begins with a com-

¹⁰ These procedures evolved from the authors' experiences in attempting to develop a type of disciplinary counseling based upon counseling and other personnel procedures. By way of further orientation of the reader, we present the University of Minnesota's regulations in the field of discipline.

Residential units, including fraternities and sororities, establish their own rules of group living, and, for the most part, they enforce their own minor rules with the power of review and appeal still residing in the disciplinary counselor. Moreover the faculties of the separate colleges have each established regulations concerning cheating in examinations and other college discipline matters. But with these exceptions, the following are the University's only discipline regulations (Minnesota Senate Constitution, 1917)

- "1. And whenever any student of the University, during any session of the University, has been found guilty of any of the following offenses, he shall be liable to expulsion or suspension by the Senate
 - a. Drunkenness, or disorderly conduct, such as constitutes a breach of the peace, whether such drunkenness or misconduct has taken place upon the University campus or elsewhere.
 - b. Misappropriation of money or other property

plaint or charge and closes with some action designed to punish or to correct the student. But the detailed steps leading from the beginning to the close have not been described. Throughout the limited literature on discipline, various procedures have been touched upon briefly, but a systematic presentation has not been found. Descriptions are given of committee meetings or of trials held in student courts, but these are often illustrative of a particular point of view rather than objective description of the process.

A detailed and comprehensive account of one such system will be presented in the following pages. Subsequent chapters will show how the objective of the process—the rehabilitation of the student—is *interwoven* with these procedures from the first charge to the last rehabilitation interview. The basic procedures of this system are represented in the following schematic outline, the parts of which are described in detail in the remainder of this chapter and in subsequent chapters.

SCHEMATIC OUTLINE OF PROCEDURES IN DISCIPLINARY COUNSELING

1. Identification of alleged disciplinary situations
2. Identification of student or students allegedly involved
3. Reporting of situations to the disciplinary counselor
4. Making of charges against the student
5. Case investigation made
6. Student interviewed for counseling purposes
7. Appraisal of causes of incident-behavior
8. Assessment of potentialities for rehabilitation
9. Tentative formulation of needed steps in rehabilitation
10. Comprehensive report to committee (or official)

c. Misconduct of any kind which is unbecoming a student of the University and detrimental to the welfare of the student body.

2. Conviction in a court of justice of a criminal offense involving moral turpitude shall be grounds for expulsion or suspension by the Senate."

The Board of Regents has stipulated that permanent dismissal action may be taken only by the president. This Board also established an All-university Disciplinary Committee, and all disciplinary action, with the exception of scholastic matters (*e.g.*, cheating in examinations) involving only students and faculty of one college, was placed under the jurisdiction of the dean of students, who is ex-officio chairman of the disciplinary committee.

11. Review and deliberation by committee (or official)
12. Consultation and review by committee (or official) with student in an *informal* face-to-face situation
13. Action by committee (or official)
14. Enforcement of committee action
15. Rehabilitation counseling as long as necessary (or profitable)

Complaint

In the program under discussion, as is probable in most programs, the complaint must be channeled through one person, the disciplinary counselor. On the other hand, the *source* of complaints is so varied as to constitute a comprehensive list of faculty, personnel agencies, administrative officers, police, dormitories, private householders, student organizations, and maintenance staff. The complaint, however, regardless of its source, and whether formally or informally preferred, is the first step in the disciplinary process.

The source of the complaint is an important factor for reasons which will be made explicit in a later section. It is folly to assume that complaints have equal validity or equal meaning, even though they may fall into a general category, such as theft. Some complaints come from reliable sources and some do not, others come from people who fall between these extremes. *Until the validity of a complaint is carefully established, the counselor must be wary of succeeding steps in the disciplinary process.* Gross has cautioned criminal investigators with respect to their work.¹¹

The case must be taken up from the start with an open mind. The complaint or information received by the Investigating Officer ought to have no more value in his eyes than this statement "It is said that such and such a crime has been committed at such and such a place." Even if details about the perpetrator, the injury, the motive, et cetera, are published, he should attach no more importance to them than if he had heard the remark, "It is said that the affair must have happened thus."

Upon receiving the complaint with the student's name, if available, steps should be taken to verify the accusation and to secure

¹¹ Hans Gross, *Criminal Investigation*, translated by John Adam and J. Collyer Adam, edited by Norman Kendal, 3d ed., p. 4, Sweet and Maxwell, Ltd., London, 1934.

a detailed account of the alleged misconduct. The verification is important because the social and psychological dynamics of a small or large part of the student's life may be revealed. Details of the incident are not only important to highlight such dynamics, but they also provide a basis for the interviews which will follow. Hawkes and Hawkes have presented a case history paraphrased below illustrating how verification of a complaint may proceed subtly and yet establish the *invalidity* of the complaint without doing injustice to a student.

An instructor reported that he was positive a student had cheated in his class because the answers to some examination questions had been copied verbatim from a certain book. The dean, knowing that this student had had difficulty with his studies, particularly in history, tested the validity of the complaint by interviewing the student. He did not tell him that any accusation had been made, but asked how his studies were coming along. The boy replied that he had worked on a new method of memorizing sections from his books that seemed pertinent to the questions which the instructor had announced might be part of the examination. At this point the dean told the student that such preparation was not only of a kind which the instructor did not want, but was also relatively ineffective from the standpoint of real assimilation and understanding of the material. He asked whether the student could retain the memorized material for any length of time, and learned that the boy could remember it for about a week after memorization. The boy did not appear to have a photographic memory, so the dean asked him to see how much he could recall about the two questions under suspicion. The student rewrote his answers, and they were almost identical with those he had previously given in his examination. The dean then explained how ineffective such techniques were and counseled him about better study methods. The interview was concluded without the student's learning that he had been accused of cheating. The authors comment on the course of events which might have happened had the instructor (or a less imaginative dean) tried to establish the facts.¹²

In passing, it should be noted that reports of misconduct may also identify undesirable institutional or community situations re-

¹² Hawkes and Hawkes, *op cit.*, pp. 208-210

lated directly or indirectly to other aspects of the personnel program. Unsatisfactory housing conditions sometimes are discovered through the medium of complaints about students living in a particular unit. For example:

A woman who bought and began to operate a student rooming house soon began to make many minor complaints about students and a few that were serious in nature. After a few of the difficulties which involved interpersonal relationships had been overcome or at least neutralized, it was learned from consultations with the complainant that she was unstable and erratic in her behavior. Close supervision of her behavior and further consultations were arranged until it was discovered that the woman appeared to be in a prodromal stage of psychosis. Since neither she nor her family would cooperate in substituting a paid housemother who would supervise the girls, university approval of the householder was withdrawn and the house was disapproved for student tenancy altogether. More satisfactory residence quarters were found for the students who were living in this house.

The foregoing are two illustrations of ways in which complaints may be evaluated. Other situations which involve a conflict of personalities may be studied by interviewing other students living in the same house. For example, a social worker may be sent to study the situation and recommend action designed to correct the basic problem, or information accumulated over a period of years about a householder may throw further light upon the reliability of her complaint. Again, knowledge of the particular student may also help in evaluating the situation. Comments of neighbors which are picked up informally through the visits of a social worker may also assist in making judgments as a means of evaluating other types of complaints. In other situations, institutional factors may bear scrutiny in terms of their possible relationship to misbehavior. For example, after taking action in a case in which four women students had been involved in very serious sex misconduct, the Disciplinary Committee proceeded to investigate the counseling program of the dormitory in which they lived and the responsibilities of the dormitory director. It was discovered that the director, a very capable woman, was so overburdened with problems of business management that she could not devote sufficient time to oversee the part-time graduate counselors. The

Committee, therefore, recommended to the appropriate University department through the president that full-time professionally trained head counselors be secured for each woman's dormitory.

The time involved in studying a complaint and in weighing its merits may be a few minutes or several days. But unless the situation has an emergency feature, the counselor owes it both to the complainant and to the student to proceed carefully and to establish a sound foundation for his future work. It is evident that if a disciplinary situation is reported involving unidentified students, the counselor must first find the students. Methods of detection used in this type of situation also yield verification of the charges originally made.

Collection of Data

While the investigation of the complaint is going forward, basic information about the student or students involved may be collected.¹³

The student's application for admission and a transcript of his grade record usually furnish basic data. The age of the student, his home address, his local address, the occupation of his father, comments from his high school teachers, and similar pertinent information give the counselor data from which to construct an understanding of the student as an individual *apart from* his alleged participation in a disciplinary situation.

Such additional records as psychological and educational test scores, information about activity participation, financial status, religious affiliation, and other data from student personnel records serve to further orient the counselor. Reports from householders

¹³ Sometimes the nature of the offense is such as to call for accelerated handling of the case. Such a situation was characteristic of the following case: A student who was accused of indecent assault was arrested but later released when the complainant refused to sign a formal charge. Because this student might be a dangerous menace to women students, he was interviewed by the counselor and the legal member of the committee as soon as he was released from jail. An emergency interview with the psychiatrist was arranged and such data as the grade record, test reports, and some information about the student's service record was obtained. The Committee convened in the afternoon of the same day to hear the case and to make a decision.

or residence counselors, instructors, and others who have had intimate contact with the student are often extremely useful because of the penetrating insight which may be secured. The following case will illustrate this point regarding sources of information about students.

A student with liberal views had found himself disliked by the boys in his rooming house and had become a natural object of suspicion when a theft occurred. This incident was followed closely by a series of thefts and resulted in a verbalizing of the suspicions which was brought to the attention of the disciplinary counselor. This boy was known to the counselor because of previous situations into which he had injected himself and in which he had rubbed a rather conservative elderly householder very much in the wrong way. A graduate teaching assistant in the department of economics lived in this house and had had frequent discourse with the suspect on economic and social problems. Through these late evening sessions the graduate student had come to know a good deal about the personal background of the unstable boy and had had numerous opportunities to observe his basic honesty with regard to other people's possessions. The information which he furnished prompted the counselor to postpone an interview with the boy until further investigation of the thefts could be made in a thorough and systematic manner. A working man living in the house and earning a very substantial wage was ultimately identified as the thief. The radical student was interviewed, together with other residents of the house, and during the course of the interview was drawn into some discussion about his beliefs. The beginnings of a mental hygiene program were instituted without the student ever knowing that he had been strongly suspected by his fellow roomers. The counselor also seized upon the opportunity to educate several of the latter with respect to their toleration of the suspect. According to reports received later from the landlady and from the graduate student, the social climate of the outcast became noticeably warmer in the rooming house.

In its net result this instance cited does not differ greatly from the one previously quoted from Hawkes and Hawkes. An essential difference, however, is the fact that one personnel worker solved the problem from personal knowledge he had about the student, whereas in the other case the counselor had to collect

personal data about the student and then find his entree to a counseling relationship. Furthermore, the one complaint was based upon seemingly sound evidence while the other arose out of personal dislike and unpopularity. The major point of similarity is that both situations originated in the peculiar kind of adaptive behavior exhibited by students. In both cases this adaptive behavior, *not the formal disciplinary charge*, became the focus of attention and treatment.

The above case illustrates the basic principle of disciplinary counseling that emphasis must be placed upon the necessity of exhausting all sources of information, and to this end there is no substitute for intimate knowledge of the institution, faculty, and staff. No doubt a great deal of information about any student may be had if the counselor knows precisely where to look for it. But the dimensions of his inquiry, however, are limited by the confidential nature of the problem. As will be emphasized in later chapters, *to* the counselor may flow much information; *from* him flow small, carefully selected items.

Health information and other data secured at the time of admissions often are obtained originally in a mass production and standardized way. Nevertheless, careful and detailed analysis of such records as are available to the counselor may provide hints as to present or potential needs of the student, which enter the disciplinary process as part of the case work. The following case illustrates how a disciplinary counselor, in his regular duties, may also perform general, nondisciplinary personnel work.

While securing information about a student who made a suspicious complaint, the counselor found on a small record card of a routine freshman speech examination that the student had misspelled two common words and had stated his handedness had been changed at the age of fifteen. Upon consulting with the speech clinician it was learned that, through an error in filing, the card had become buried instead of being sorted into a pile for future reference. That error being corrected, a contact with the student was established, technical difficulties involving eye dominance, reading, related handedness problems were discovered, and a therapeutic program was started to increase the student's efficiency.

The Initial Interview

The first contact with the student charged with disciplinary misbehavior not only provides an opportunity to ameliorate a particular crisis, but also may serve to set the stage for the counseling process. *The cardinal point to remember in this interview is that the handling of the disciplinary charge is not the only objective of this interview.* The complaint has served its function in identifying a student who *may be* maladjusted and in need of information, counseling, or psychiatric therapy. The disciplinary difficulty itself is the symptom which precipitates the psychological evaluation of the individual. The settlement of the complaint does not provide an effective termination of the initial interview. The basic adjustment status of the student is the primary factor in determining the direction of the interview and the nature of the treatment. And frequently this status is not evident from the original data available to the counselor. Further exploration may reveal unsuspected adjustments and maladjustments as in the following case.

A woman charged to the police that a student was guilty of indecent assault. The student was arrested but the woman refused to sign a complaint, so no further investigation of the woman's statement was made and the student was released. When the student was interviewed he was very reluctant to discuss the situation, saying he had been intoxicated and was very much ashamed of the whole incident. He refused to discuss the details of the case which would have clarified his position. Accordingly a copy of the woman's statement was secured from the police department and one of the principal points of the woman's complaint was checked. No verification could be found and this fact, in conjunction with the questionable virtue of the complainant, whittled the original complaint down to one far less serious. When this information was conveyed to the student he gained confidence in the disciplinary counselor and told the whole story.

The basic steps in the interview are routinely but personally indicated. The student is usually informed that a complaint has been made about his behavior. He is told that the counselor is trying to clear up the matter to the satisfaction of the complainant, the student, and the university. The student is advised about

his rights in the matter and is asked to cooperate in seeing the process through. He is also advised that he may appeal from the counselor to the dean of students and thence to the all-university disciplinary committee and finally to the president if he wishes to do so. He is also reminded of his responsibilities and obligations as a student and as a representative of the university in its public relations. These elements of the interview may be introduced at the beginning of the interview or they may be interjected at appropriate times during the course of the discussion.

Usually students are cooperative. They may be apprehensive about being "in bad" with the university, but more often they see the alleged problem as one which they also wish to have resolved. The unpleasantness may be as great to them as it is to the complainant. The bringing of the matter to a head, particularly in serious cases, may provide real catharsis and reduction of tension. Students in trouble are as honest as students are generally found to be in other situations. An occasional student will try to lie or bluff his way through, but such methods are usually easily diagnosed.¹⁴ If such is the case, the student may be asked to think the matter over for a day or two and then return for another interview. This usually produces the desired cooperation.

Occasionally, however, some procedure or relationship goes wrong and the desired outcome of discipline is not achieved. This is illustrated in the following case:

A student was requested to move from a house which the Disciplinary Committee had disapproved as a student residence. Disorderly conduct, sex misconduct, and other complaints had been made about the householder and they had been substantiated. The student, however, felt that it was unreasonable to request that he move from this environment, saying that he had not participated in the misconduct and requested a hearing before the Committee. The Committee heard his

¹⁴ Although not ordinarily used, the polygraph apparatus often has great usefulness. In one disciplinary situation, a student who lived in a dormitory had been suspected on numerous occasions of having stolen money and other articles from students living in the dormitory. Her explanations were always plausible and there was never any clear-cut proof. After a series of thefts, however, she was examined on the polygraph and found to be guilty. She then admitted that she had been guilty of most of the thefts of which she had been suspected previously.

appeal but he listed only one reason why he should not be required to move. The reason was that it was personally inconvenient for him to move because of the numerous possessions which he had. After hearing his appeal the Committee decided that the student should move within the prescribed time limit which permitted him about one month to find new quarters. No group therapy occurred in this situation. The student, irritated because the Committee did not sustain his appeal, withdrew from school.

The more difficult cases are those in which the student acknowledges most of the facts but alters or distorts others with a considerable amount of skill. Here the facts with which the interviewer has armed himself before the consultation may stand him in good stead. Minute details about the incident itself and about the general behavior of the student serve as testing points for honesty and truthfulness. A psychologist, however, is not a lie detector, and he may be fooled by a clever culprit. In such cases, judgments of honesty and truthfulness have to be made, and the authors believe that the student should be given the benefit of the doubt. Since punishment is not the objective, a certain amount of counseling and advising can take place even though the student may not be telling the whole truth. If he is lying or falsifying his statements, he is probably under some emotional strain, and the principles of the psychology of learning have shown that the emotional components may be favorable to the retention of learning.¹⁵

It is true the student may be learning "how to lie out of a situation," but it is also possible that he may heed some of the advice given to him and, by one means or another, may modify his be-

¹⁵ A girl was reported as having been absent from her rooming house on three consecutive nights. Her boy friend was known to be in town and she was suspected of having spent those nights with him. The girl admitted having been absent from the rooming house, but stated that she had stayed in a separate room in the same hotel with her boy friend. She insisted that this was the correct account of her activities and stated that she had done nothing seriously wrong outside of remaining away from her rooming house without permission. The disciplinary counselor stated that it would be easy to verify that she had had a separate room and started to call the hotel clerk to verify this story. The girl rather hurriedly stated that there was no use in calling because she had occupied the same room that her fiancé had occupied.

havior so that he does not again come into a similar social or personal conflict. It is, of course, self-evident that a sparring match between administrator and student does not produce ideal conditions for the student to learn better social adjustments.

On the contrary, "third degree" interviewing methods produce little that is good and are not as effective in any respect as are other methods of determining facts. For example:

After a number of thefts had occurred in a sorority house several members began to suspect a girl who was having difficult problems. This girl seemed to have an adequate source of income, but there was some suspicion that she was secretly married and might be using her money for additional expenses which her marriage incurred. She seemed to have frequent quarrels with the boy who was thought to be her husband and she had occasional dates with other boys thereby stimulating the interest of the sorority in this girl's private life. There were several suspicious factors which to the girls in the sorority pointed to this girl's guilt as the thief. A carefully planned interview got nowhere and the complaint could not be verified nor disproved. The polygraph was described to the girl and she was asked whether she would cooperate in an examination to clear her or to prove her guilty. She readily agreed. Although the girl appeared to be a good subject for polygraph investigation, she did not show typical signs of guilt, nor did she respond emotionally to guilty knowledge—that is, information which presumably only the thief would have. Thus we see that the polygraph has as great usefulness in establishing *innocence* as it has in establishing guilt.

A dispute as to facts of the situation can usually be settled to the satisfaction of the complainant and of the offender during the first interview. This provides a transitional point from which a more detailed analysis of the individual can be directed into the rehabilitation phase of counseling.

Initial Formulation

At some point before or during the first conference an initial formulation is made in the psychobiological sense. It is possible on the basis of preliminary data, that tentative hypotheses have already been established by the counselor. If, in the first interview, the counselor explores systematically various areas of the student's

social and personal adjustment, he can form a working judgment about the student's potentialities. For example, the student may have "stubbed his toe" on a relatively minor regulation, and he may be found to require more orientation toward university life, rather than personal readjustment. Although the magnitude of the offense is, at best, a rough index to the adjustment of the student, judgments can be made from this and other information about the steps which will follow. A one-hour interview may be sufficient thus to orient the student. At the other extreme, a long program of rehabilitation may be sketched, which may require a year or more. In such a situation, although the complaint *per se* may be settled, the books are best not closed on the disciplinary case until the rehabilitation program has been terminated.

Other judgments may necessarily require attention in the initial interview. The counselor may decide that the matter should be referred to the faculty disciplinary committee. The case may involve basic university policy, or it may involve relationships between departments which can better be handled at the committee level. Moreover, the student may think he is being unfairly treated, or the counselor may feel that he is making no progress with the student, or at best, he finds the student a dubious risk for continuance in school. In one of these respects, or some other, the whole situation may deserve review by an impartial group serving as a consulting board. Whatever the next steps that are indicated, they first should be talked over with the student to give him a sense of fair play and to secure his cooperation throughout the process.

Some mention should be made of those special cases wherein the stability of the student seems to be delicately poised. Occasionally, certain crucial points can be approached only gradually over a period of several interviews because of the student's over-reactive temperament. It is very important, if possible, to diagnose such situations very quickly and early in the first interview, because without precautions serious problems may be created which complicate and lengthen the whole process. It may be necessary to approach sensitive subjects or experiences from a variety of directions until the student becomes somewhat negatively adapted to them. *This illustrates the thesis of the authors that*

rehabilitation counseling should, and usually does, begin early in the initial interview. It also illustrates that interviews cannot be conducted haphazardly. The counselor must be on his "psychological toes" to avoid untoward developments.

Assuming that a problem is not resolved in the initial contact, the counselor plans with the student some of the future developments. For example, certain administrative actions are often agreed to as fair and desirable steps in rehabilitation, such as restriction of the student's privileges, delimiting certain areas of his behavior, or separation from school either temporarily or permanently. *The purposes and values of such actions are explained to the student and discussed until it appears that he understands and is willing to participate in the program.*

COMMITTEE PROCEDURES

As Armstrong stated,¹⁶ in almost no university is the disciplinary committee composed entirely of sympathetic and understanding faculty members who are also in close touch with student life. He also expressed the opinion that in virtually every school there was at least one member of the disciplinary committee who thought of students as frivolous and in need of serious attention by the faculty. In the evolution of the disciplinary program at the University of Minnesota, the stage was reached some years ago at which proposals he and others have made could be carried out successfully.

The membership of the disciplinary committee in this University, appointed by the president, has remained virtually unchanged for the past eight years, and there is no reason to believe that replacements will be made unless unforeseen and unrelated circumstances develop. Six faculty members were appointed as permanent members of the committee. In addition to this, the dean of students is the ex officio and nonvoting chairman, and the dean of the college in which the student is registered or his representative serves as a rotating member. The disciplinary counselor¹⁷ is the nonvoting secretary and agent of the committee.

¹⁶ Secretarial Notes, Conference of Deans of Men *Op cit*

¹⁷ Mr. Foley, with the budgetary title of Senior Counselor and with a full-time associated woman counselor, in fact serves as head of a special bu-

The average age of committee members is relatively young, although five of them are full professors. One is the director of the Student Health Service; another is a sociologist specializing in delinquency, one is a personnel worker on the agricultural campus, and the other three are from Law, Educational Psychology, and Education. Both the members and the fields which they represent have been carefully determined, with the result that the committee is sympathetic, understanding of student life and mores, educationally oriented toward problems of this type, and yet very realistic in facing the difficult problems which they meet. The dean of students and the disciplinary counselor do not vote because they have had prior interests in cases which come to the committee.

The committee is appointed by and directly responsible to the President of the University. In the history of this group there has been no difficulty in communication with the president or in

reau in the Office of the Dean of Students at the University of Minnesota. This bureau is coordinate in every way with the other bureaus in this office. Student Counseling Bureau, Bureau of Veterans' Affairs, Bureau of Student Loans and Scholarships, Student Activities Bureau, Speech Clinic, Student Housing Bureau, Adviser to Foreign Students, Coordinator of Students' Religious Activities, and Disciplinary Counseling. Two impermanent bureaus—(U S contract) Veterans' Counseling Center and Mobile Speech Clinic—are not involved in work with students. Each bureau, including the one concerned with discipline, has its own physical quarters, budget, professional staff, and clerical staff. Such departmentalization of student personnel functions, while introducing special problems of coordination, a topic to be reported in another volume, has permitted the strong development of each function in a comprehensive professional program. It should need no comment as support of the fact that a professional worker free to devote his talents to intensive, *and coordinated*, study of a *group of related personnel* functions may develop more effective services to students and may also exploit his research opportunities—far more than is the case for the harassed and lone dean who rushes from a meeting on dormitory counseling to a conference with a boy charged with cheating in an examination. Of course, institutional factors enter into the extent to which departmentalization is possible and desirable and also determine the form of grouping of functions. But some form of sophisticated administrative structure is needed to replace the outmoded and creaking organization to be found on too many campuses today. *This is perhaps more true with respect to discipline than it is relevant to other personnel functions.*

securing his attendance at meetings when basic policies are under discussion.

As one of its auxiliary yet fundamental functions, the committee is charged with the responsibility for investigating sources of disciplinary behavior and conditions which give rise to it. The committee formulates recommendations and policies and actions designed to correct analyzed and verified undesirable conditions.

The committee meets ten or twelve times each year and holds hearings for less than 5 per cent of all disciplinary cases. Periodic reports are made to the committee, however, of all disciplinary cases, and no case is formally closed until the committee has approved the disposition of each case by the disciplinary counselor or the dean of students.

Committee Hearings

When a student case is presented to the committee a typewritten summary of the case is provided for each member. Further details about the student, his educational progress, his background, and other pertinent information are presented orally. The committee may ask questions and always secures as complete an understanding of the case as possible *before* interviewing the student.

Before being presented to the committee, the student is told what procedures will be followed and is also told that he may bring a faculty member or a counselor or some member of the University staff to serve as his advocate if he wishes to do so. In the history of the committee not more than a half dozen students have availed themselves of this opportunity.

The student is interviewed by the committee and is also asked to present his account of the situation. He is then questioned freely by the committee in the light of his own statements and other data previously supplied by the disciplinary counselor. Incidentally, the complainant does not appear, *nor is he by name brought into the discussion*. He has discharged his function by reporting the disciplinary situation to the disciplinary counselor. The committee meeting is relatively informal, and every effort is made to demonstrate to the student that the committee wants to get at the facts and to work out the best solution for him. In no

sense is it a "trial" and the committee does not "grill" the student. The procedure is usually quite calm and friendly. If the student shows resistance, the committee exercises patience in attempting to secure information which will later furnish a basis for some decision and constructive program of rehabilitation. An example of the subtle counseling effect of a committee conference will illustrate the point.

A student known to have promoted a "disorderly party" was presented to the committee because he refused flatly to cooperate with the disciplinary counselor. The committee spent several hours of patient questioning, but the student refused to admit any participation in the matter, although he gave evidence of knowing a great deal about what had occurred. Despite his resistance, the committee influenced him, and after the committee meeting had ended, he was interviewed by the disciplinary counselor, who found him far more cooperative. The student said he had been under psychiatric treatment for paranoid attitudes, and although he never admitted participation, he was cooperative throughout his probationary period.

On the other hand, if the committee reaches the conclusion that possibilities for rehabilitation are quite limited or nonexistent, then it firmly takes action despite any pressure from student, parents, friends, or politicians. The following case is illustrative of this phase of the committee's procedures.

An upperclassman, socially prominent on and off the campus, was charged with copying in an examination. The disciplinary counselor met with resentment from the student when he was interviewed and with the indignant demand that the charges be dropped without investigation. There followed weeks of pressure efforts along the original lines and from many sources both within and without the University. To the counselor, an objective review and verification of the facts, together with circumstantial evidence, pointed to the guilt of the student, beyond reasonable doubt. Ordinarily the counselor would have closed the disciplinary-action phase of the incident with an assigned F grade in the course and with subsequent disciplinary counseling. But the continued pressure from indignant persons, who questioned the right of any action against a person of such unimpeachable character, was such as to lead the counselor to refer the case to the Faculty Disciplinary Committee for review and action. After prolonged and

detailed investigation, including careful questioning of the instructor and his assistants and detailed examination of the pencil markings on compared sets of quiz papers, the Committee found the individual guilty. Then the pressure became intensified at a higher administrative level. The student, being fully informed by the counselor of his rights and privileges at each procedural step, appealed to the president for the appointment of an *ad hoc* Review Committee. This new Committee reviewed the original evidence, collected new data and heard all available witnesses. Again pressure was exerted to discredit the evidence and the testimony in favor of the character references. But the Review Committee independently reached a similar conclusion as that of the original Committee and recommended that the original action be sustained.

While not satisfied with the final action, nevertheless the student concluded that he had had every fair and reasonable opportunity given to him to prove his innocence. But his friends and associates continued to feel that it was impossible that a student of this type could have cheated in an examination.

Committee Discussion

After the student has been interviewed, the committee excuses him from the meeting and proceeds to a discussion of the case. The various factors are carefully evaluated and different points of view and opinions are discussed in an effort to plan a rehabilitational program for the individual. Incidentally, two or more students involved in a situation may be treated quite differently. Each is evaluated in the light of his past and his potentialities. After a discussion which may last one or more hours, the committee votes upon the disposition of the case.

Committee Action

After a formal motion has been voted upon, the committee instructs the disciplinary counselor about the steps to follow. They may dismiss the charges; they may find the charges substantiated but take no further action; and they may place the student on probation and refer him to the disciplinary counselor with or without suggestions about the treatment. The committee may suspend a student for a period of not more than one year. Suspensions beyond that period for any reason whatsoever, or permanent dis-

missal, may be recommended to the president, but only the president of the university can take such action.

The committee instructs the disciplinary counselor to interview the student and tell him of their decision. At this step the student is also told he may appeal to the president if he is dissatisfied with the committee's decision. Should the student appeal, the president will appoint a special review committee to go over the whole case and to make a separate recommendation to him.

In taking action, the standing Disciplinary Committee considers each student as an individual without being unduly influenced by previous actions which may have been taken and without reference to other students who may have been involved in the same offense. Each case, in so far as it is humanly possible, is decided upon the potentialities of the student to reestablish himself in the University. Any or all resources of the University, be they personnel, psychological, psychiatric, or other, may be brought to bear upon the rehabilitation of a student, in the belief that the University is better organized to offer such services than is the general community, and that the student's potentialities may better be realized within the university frame of resources than without.

An example of the Committee's discriminative efforts may be shown in the following case:

Two students guilty of sex misconduct were interviewed by the Committee, and their attitudes toward the situation were carefully explored. The girl, who was argumentative and litigious, seemed to offer little possibility for rehabilitation, and she was suspended from the University. The boy, who had gone through certain traumatic experiences, seemed contrite, and the Committee, realizing they possibly were being fooled, decided nevertheless to retain him on disciplinary probation. After some period of time, he began to show marked improvement, graduated, and went on to a satisfactory graduate career in another institution. The girl reapplied after several years and presented a creditable record of behavior and accomplishment following her suspension. The Committee readmitted her, and she became an honor student.

These procedural steps, through at least part of which each student goes once he becomes involved in a disciplinary complaint, are not always obvious in their intent to the student. In some

respects the process is smooth, and the offender probably does not recognize the stages or steps because he may be disturbed about the plight in which he has found himself. In practice they merge imperceptibly one into the other, and all of them have certain purposes and objectives.

INFORMING STUDENTS ABOUT POLICIES AND REGULATIONS

We turn from a discussion of procedures to a matter of importance in discipline—institutional practices in orienting students to their privileges and responsibilities as members of the university community. One of the most frequently heard comments from students who are confronted with a complaint about misbehavior is that they did not know such behavior was prohibited or even considered undesirable. In many cases this is literally true, because the regulations and policies are usually printed in the official bulletins, which are not always read with comprehension by students or faculty members. Moreover, regulations may be passed by the policy-making body, such as the faculty, and not appear in print for many months. In many institutions there is no codification of regulations, some of which may have originated several decades ago. Parenthetically, such a codification is periodically needed as changing mores and social values indicate the corresponding changes in the appropriate rules and policies.

Haggerty and Brumbaugh found that 69 per cent of the institutions surveyed issue statements of the rules and regulations to new students.¹⁸ The purpose was to serve as a general guide to conduct within the institution and to indicate to the new student what the institution considers to be his responsibility for his behavior and what types of behavior are judged to be undesirable. Forty per cent of the institutions surveyed define penalties in advance, which is very much the type of practice of medieval universities. Almost half of the private institutions surveyed define the penalties in advance, but only about one-fourth of the publicly controlled institutions did this. It may be pointed out that there is a tendency for an institution with defined penalties to maintain a fixed and rigid system, probably of a punitive nature. It is, of course, possible that some of these institutions belong in

¹⁸ Haggerty and Brumbaugh, *op cit*, p. 49

the small group which subscribes to the impersonal enforcement of rules and regulations. Such a prescription of the penalties in advance inevitably makes difficult the development of an individualized approach to and the application of the philosophy of educational growth through the treatment of disciplinary problem situations. The use of such methods as determination of penalty in advance tend to substantiate Bailey's conclusion that although the vast majority of institutions verbally subscribe to the individual treatment of disciplinary cases, a large number seem to give only lip service to such a philosophy.¹⁰

It should be noted that there are many pitfalls and a false simplicity involved, both in the establishment of specific rules and regulations governing behavior and in determining penalties in advance of disciplinary charges. But students in general wish to know in advance, or at least they report to administrators that they wish to know in advance, what is prohibited, "what they can and cannot do," and also what will be done by the university if they do do it. Actually such a mechanized way of regulating human conduct in an educational institution makes difficult the development of a real educational program of character growth as well as the inculcation of a sense of self-responsibility and a social point of view with respect to behavior. A long list of such rules and regulations may appear to be easy to enforce because the students superficially think they know what they can and cannot do. But of course it is impossible to have enough regulations to govern every situation in which students find themselves. Thus ultimately the regulations prove to be incomplete, and finally, if they are added to each year without revision, they become so cumbersome that students and faculty tend to disregard them.

In contrast, there are many arguments for adopting a generalized statement of policy which makes clear the point of view with which the institution views student behavior. This point of view would emphasize the student's responsibility for conducting himself and regulating his own life so that he will bring personal growth to himself and credit to the institution. Such a philosophy

¹⁰ H. W. Bailey, "Disciplinary Procedures," *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, pp 294-296, W. S. Monroe, editor, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1941.

would place squarely upon the students the responsibility for growing in the determination of what behavior meets this criterion and what does not meet it. In other words the student is given responsibility for becoming mature in his judgment making, rather than merely leaning heavily upon the quoting of specific rules and regulations. This adoption of a generalized policy, which will serve as a guiding principle for students and faculty alike, would seem to have much to commend it as opposed to the other methods. An example of such a formulation is quoted below:

CITIZENSHIP PRIVILEGES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF STUDENTS

Scholarship and professional training in the University of Minnesota are primary aspects of a broad education for citizenship. To achieve these goals, students supplement classroom and library with social and recreational activities. They do this to acquire practical experience in leadership, in organizing community enterprises, in cooperating with others, and in governing through voting. To students these activities are important because of their immediate value, but to the faculty they are one step in a series designed to teach how to be a citizen through carrying out community and civic responsibilities.

When a student enrolls in the University, he acquires special status and prestige as a citizen in this community. As a result everything he does and says reflects upon the University either to its credit or discredit. The University's standing in the state is, in a large measure, maintained and enhanced by the conduct of its student citizens. This is one real meaning of the phrase—loyalty to alma mater.

Essentially, there is but one general rule governing the conduct of student citizens in the University community. Whatever a student does and says shall be in the best interests of the University as a whole and of other students, as well as in the best interests of the student himself. This policy defines the general outer limits within which students have freedom of individual expression and action. The University encourages and indeed expects students, individually and collectively, to maintain this freedom by the exercise of that self-restraint which is imposed by a sense of social responsibility.

In general, the development of University citizenship is a normal part of living. At first students must make certain adjustments such as living with a new group of people, developing loyalties to the school and to student groups, and assuming new responsibilities toward the uni-

versity community. Occasionally a student who does not make these adjustments brings such serious discredit upon the University that the University must act to protect itself. However, most students make these adjustments satisfactorily and adapt themselves normally to the transition from home community to city environment and from high school to college life.

There are, of course, certain other rules defining responsibilities in specific areas of student life, such as housing, social privileges, and curriculum. Each student should become familiar with the sources of information (given on page 8 of this handbook) and with his responsibilities as a student in the University.*

* *Handbook for New Students*, issued by the Office of the Dean of Students, University of Minnesota, 1946.

Records

In the authors' institution, all records, case notes, and committee minutes are kept in confidential files not generally accessible to faculty, students, or personnel workers. They are not registered at the central exchange office, known as the Faculty-Student Contact Desk, with which personnel workers register their cases. Disciplinary records are held in confidence in order to facilitate the students' rehabilitation in the University community.

More important to the student, however, than the confidential file is the notation that might appear on his official grade record. During the recent war a real justification for such fears became clear. For many previous years it had been customary to record the specific disciplinary actions on the permanent grade sheet in the registrar's office. Army and Navy officials wrote to the University requesting information about these notations appearing on blueprints of records. In some cases the disciplinary incidents had occurred many years ago and these students had graduated, yet the shadows of their misdeeds had continued to stalk them long after the cases had been closed. In each such case it was necessary to write or to explain personally the circumstances of the case and the fact that the student had long since been restored to good standing in the University. Such incidents served as a basis for recommending to the University Senate a policy designed to correct such "overpunishment" of misbehavior long after rehabilitation was achieved. In 1943, the Senate adopted a

new policy which provides that only the notation "See special file" be recorded on the official file in the registrar's office.²⁰ When another institution inquires concerning such a notation, copies of requested records containing this phrase are sent to the individual or committee taking the original disciplinary action, and information may be released or withheld as is judged best in each individual case. This policy and the procedures are retroactive in their effect and practice. Dismissal for low scholarship is the only form of disciplinary action not covered by this policy. Thus, the inviolability of misconduct records is assured and the student protected. At the same time, other institutions may be informed by special, not routine, reports when students apply for transfer and admission.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have discussed and evaluated certain parts of the administrative organization and program of discipline, classified as a function of the student personnel program. Our experience leads us to prefer the centralization of investigation of complaints in a specialized counselor who is professionally trained. But a carefully selected committee of faculty members should be used as a review and appeal board for complex and more serious cases of misbehavior. Provisions for further appeal and review of decisions by such a committee are necessary to assure fair treatment of students.

The procedures used by the counselor and the committee were outlined in detail from the making of the complaint to the disposition of the case. Finally, we illustrated a method of informing students about disciplinary policies in such a way as to minimize emphasis on a concept of "do and don't" and maximize stress upon the acquiring of a sense of self-responsibility for one's behavior as a part of the general learning which takes place on the college campus.

In the next chapter we turn to a detailed description of types of disciplinary problems as they have revealed themselves in the authors' institution.

²⁰ Minutes of the Senate, University of Minnesota, May 20, 1943.

CHAPTER IV

The Disciplinary Problems of College Students

The disciplinary problems of students differ from their usual problems of health, finance, vocational choice, and educational progress. They rather are problems which usually affect not only the individual student, but also one or more other persons in such a way that a complaint is made about the behavior observed. A wide variety of complaints may be classified under a few general headings:

Financial irregularities

Minor misconduct

Disorderly conduct

Sex misconduct

Theft and burglary

Misuse of privileges

Miscellaneous (including dishonesty in examinations)

Any complaint made about a student's conduct, even though such conduct may not be a violation of a specific and explicit regulation, is classified as a disciplinary problem. It is generally agreed among college administrators that certain types of specified behavior are to be regarded with disapproval. For example,

theft is universally considered as undesirable behavior. On the other hand, certain situations involving social relationships may be violations of an unwritten code rather than of specific regulations, and may be judged in terms of the generalized criterion of "conduct becoming a student." The standards and mores of each college will determine how complaints of the latter variety shall be treated.

CLASSIFICATION OF DISCIPLINARY PROBLEMS

Attempts to classify the delinquent behavior of adolescents have met with varying success, and probably no one has achieved a satisfactory system of classification. At this point in our discussion we are referring to the behavior observed by others, what we may call the situations which arise in the life experience of students. We are not here concerned with the personality *mechanisms* and *motivations* which produce the specific *misbehavior* in the social situations. We are here rather concerned with a common-sense scheme of classifying the situations and events usually referred to as disciplinary misbehavior.

Bailey discusses a sociological classification which is sometimes used in colleges and universities.¹ He lists three categories into which disciplinary matters may be classified:

1. Offenses occurring on campus in the instructional area of college life
2. Offenses occurring on campus in the noninstructional area of college life
3. Offenses occurring off campus

Typical examples of disciplinary problems classified by the first criterion of this system would be: cheating in examinations, altering entrance credentials, illegally procuring copies of course examinations in advance and using them or selling them to other students, changing official records, as for example, expunging information recorded in the college office or in the admissions office.

¹ H. W. Bailey, "Disciplinary Procedures," *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, pp. 294-296, W. S. Monroe, editor, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1941.

or actually changing grade records in order to secure a more satisfactory permanent grade record. For example:

A student who worked as a part-time employee in the registrar's office was found changing the records of grades which had been permanently recorded. The boy, who had begun by improving his own grade record, had assisted some friends who requested the eradication of some failing grades and had finally branched out into a rather lucrative business of improving the scholastic status of any student who was willing to pay a fee for the favor.

Offenses classified under Bailey's second category include misconduct, such as the embezzlement of funds belonging to a student organization, the violation of regulations governing the operation and use of automobiles on campus, such abuses of privileges as taking books from the library under fictitious names, and a wide variety of other related misdemeanors. An example, not frequent in occurrence, follows.

A student attending a campus dance became increasingly a nuisance as the time passed. Although he had been quiet and well-behaved in the early part of the evening, he became loud and uncautious in his speech, and finally he was rude to the dean's wife. The dean, who drew the boy to one side to question him, found that the youth was carrying a flask of whiskey and had had frequent recourse to the drink during the evening, finally becoming intoxicated.

Bailey's third classification of student misconduct is composed of difficulties arising from contacts with the general public. Off-campus drunkenness, theft, sex misconduct, and gambling are typical examples of cases classified under this division.

On one metropolitan campus recently, two students celebrating a holiday in a local bar became engaged in a dispute with another customer. As the argument became heated, one student threatened a third party with a knife. The police were called, and the two students were placed in jail.

The chief advantage of Bailey's classification is that it categorizes problems according to the locus in which they occur. Certain haphazard factors, however, tend to diminish the value of such a classification. A student, for example, may become intoxi-

cated off campus, and he might be arrested by the city police. If, on the other hand, he should return safely to his college residence, he might create a disturbance there and be classified in Bailey's second group rather than in the third category. Such chance factors interjected into the total situation could unduly affect this method of classifying disciplinary cases and make difficult anything more than a superficial analysis. Furthermore, under such a method, offenses might well be classified in one of two categories since gambling may occur on campus or off campus, and within these sociological categories there would be duplications of offenses that might otherwise be considered identical in nature.

A second general classification system may be borrowed from law enforcement agencies. Probably most colleges and universities classify student delinquencies in some way similar to that used by civic police authorities. This classification is built around the overt behavior as described by everyday language. Examples are theft, sex misconduct, drunkenness, gambling, such financial irregularities as nonpayment of rent or the writing of bad checks.

Since classifications of this kind have been used widely, the categorization of student violations in a similar method would permit comparison with any disciplinary statistics which could be found from earlier college generations. It would also permit comparison of college cases with delinquent or criminal cases found in any city or state. This is advantageous if one desires to know whether college students show social pathology on the same scale as do youth in the general population. Thus the frequency of student offenses within any category may be compared with those published for the general population to see wherein the groups differ and perhaps to determine whether education serves to prevent crime.

But such a system does not meet our needs in student personnel work. The problem of classification of student delinquency needs more careful investigation. Indeed, the problem is not unlike that of psychiatry, in which certain symptom-complexes are related and classified into so-called disorders. Attempts have been made to categorize psychiatric abnormalities in other ways; for example, the psychobiological classification, but in general the time-honored "entities" are still used. In the field of college de-

linquency Strang believes that different criteria must be set up before further progress will be made.²

As long as misbehavior is defined in terms of rules set up by the family or the outside world rather than in terms of the meaning of the behavior to the individual, the scientific study of delinquency will be checked. Progress in understanding the nature of delinquency can best be made by viewing juvenile delinquency as a special form of child development.

In no one of the fields of college discipline, juvenile delinquency, or criminology have any such ambitious attempts been made as are proposed by Strang, and for the present discussion the method of classifying misconduct according to *overt behavioral similarities* will be used. Research on detailed analyses of thousands of individual cases, now under way by the authors, may in time yield more valid categories.

TYPES OF DISCIPLINARY PROBLEMS

As will be evident in the following discussion, each type of student *misconduct* will be characterized by the apparent type of *behavior* rather than by means of the underlying motivations and stresses which give rise to the behavior. It must be kept in mind that each individual instance of discipline concerns a particular person who resembles people in general in many ways, but who differs from them in many other ways. Psychologists recognize very clearly that an identical experience will be integrated into the personalities of two people in accordance with the predisposing factors in the life history of each, and as a result, their response to the identical experience may differ considerably. From this proposition it may be seen that two students having similar opportunities for misconduct may behave quite at variance with one another. Similarly, persons with similar types of personality structures may, nevertheless, express themselves in ways which, though congruent with their individual personalities, seemingly differ to a considerable extent in so far as the method of expression is concerned. The time, the place, and the manner in which an

² Ruth Strang, *Behavior and Background of Students in College and Secondary School*, p. 66, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1937

individual expresses himself will determine how any society or community, such as a university or college, will view the behavior. This has been commonly observed for a long time, and has given rise to the proverb, "It isn't what you do, it is how you do it." Since two students having similar types of personality structures may express themselves in different overt ways, and since students having two dissimilar personality structures may express themselves in a similar way, the types of offenses which are found in college students may best be described in our present state of knowledge by referring to the *act* or *behavior* about which a complaint is made. No claim is put forth for the homogeneity of these types, but from a common-sense point of view they do lend themselves to the following rough classification and grouping. Statistics on the frequency with which each type of misbehavior occurs will be given in the next chapter.

Financial Irregularities

Two types of complaints are so classified—nonpayment of indebtedness and the writing of worthless checks.

Nonpayment of bills may be defined as the failure to meet financial obligations which the student has incurred. Usually any credit extended by a merchant or a householder is given because of, or in spite of, the fact that the student is registered in the college or university and therefore has status in the surrounding community. Householders, dormitory directors, fraternities, and sororities usually permit a student some leeway in paying his rent. Frequently in a college where many of the students are self-supporting, schedules of rental payments are devised in accordance with the periods at which a student receives his money.

Merchants who sell books, clothes, supplies, and other equipment to students are usually willing to extend credit without making the usual credit investigations required of adults. But failure on the part of individual students or of student organizations to pay their bills within a reasonable period of time sometimes so irritates a merchant that credit is denied to all students. In order to prevent such hardships for others, students and student organizations are expected to meet their obligations or to make special arrangements with the creditor if payment of the bill must be tem-

porarily deferred. Experience has shown that merchants are quite liberal in permitting postponement of payments if the student cooperates by keeping them informed periodically of any change in financial status.

An additional irregularity arises in the cashing of checks. Students sometimes write checks and cash them either at university-operated services or at stores in the local community, and most merchants seem glad to cooperate in cashing such checks when a student identifies himself properly. If the student, however, is careless about the amount of money he maintains in his checking account, if his parents neglect to replenish his account, or if the student should close an account before all checks have cleared through the bank, most retailers will ask the student to repay the money at an early date, and no report is made to the city police. But failing to secure satisfaction from the student, businessmen usually request the university to remind the student officially that he has an obligation to fulfill. If a student should write a check without a proper checking account, his case would not be classified as financial irregularity, but rather with those classified as theft. A typical example will illustrate some of the complexities of this type of behavior:

Several businessmen situated near the campus reported to the dean's office that a student had been passing checks which were returned by the bank. Most of these merchants had telephoned the student one or more times and asked him to call at the store to discuss the matter. In a few instances the student had promised to pay the amount due within a few days, but in no case had he done so. It was learned that the student's father had closed the checking account because of the large amount of money which the boy spent for extraneous purposes when he was not held to a rigorous budget.

As a rule, financial irregularity does not create any great difficulty for the disciplinary counselor. Sometimes the student offers as an explanation the fact that a household or other creditor has been in an unreasonable hurry to have the money paid. Occasionally a complaint will be made when the student has not even been notified that the creditor is concerned about the payment of the money. Usually, however, it will be found that the student

is either careless or negligent in financial management, or that he is sorely pressed for money and endeavoring to operate on a "shoestring." Punishment in such a case would be extremely ineffectual, and it is likewise of little value to tell a student, as creditors sometimes do, that he has no business going to school if he cannot accumulate enough money in advance to pay his expenses. If the basic problem is a lack of adequate financial assistance or a lack of budgeting skill within the limits of available money, the solution is to assist the student to learn better management or to find additional or more adequate financial resources. Better utilization of student personnel services, not punishment, is a more effective means of teaching the student to avoid further misbehavior of this type.

The proportion of cases classified as financial irregularities will be affected by the size of the university and other local factors. A private institution which charges large tuition fees usually draws clientele which can afford to meet minimum expenses. It is true that minimum expenses will probably be higher in such a college and that there may be a great deal of temptation for a few students to try to keep up with wealthier students, but one is not likely to find a large number of students who are struggling to achieve the bare necessities of existence while going to college. For example, one would find in such an institution few students in such straitened circumstances as the one who said he was starting his senior year, having lived three years on five-cent hamburgers. Such serious financial problems often lead to more serious health problems, which in turn further complicate the student's opportunities to adjust himself to an educational program.

Minor Misconduct

As one might expect, the bulk of all complaints about student misconduct concerns behavior which does not deviate greatly from acceptable behavior, but which has an appropriate amount of nuisance value. Cases which are classified as general misconduct are those which involve disputes with householders, minor property damage, undesirable conduct in the student recreational centers or in the library, and matters of personal-social relationships.

Personalized disputes with householders are probably the subject of more complaints than any other form of unacceptable student conduct. Students not only fail to pay their rent upon occasion as described under financial irregularities, but they irritate householders in many other ways, as for example, not keeping their rooms clean, using the telephone excessively, spilling ink or otherwise damaging furnishings which often are worn or hoary with age, failing to keep appropriate hours, and bickering over trivialities which in themselves are of no great consequence, but which highlight that tension and conflict which is often found between the younger and older generations. A not-infrequent example is the following interpersonal relationship.

An upperclass medical student in the course of a verbal dispute with a ruggedly individualistic and argumentative householder told her that she ought to be examined by a psychiatrist. She ordered him to move from her house without delay and he complained to the disciplinary counselor about this summary dismissal. He stated it was difficult to find accommodations as convenient as those he had at present and that the middle of the quarter was an inopportune time to move. He requested that the householder be told that the rental contract for the school term could not be broken.

Such complaints are very often circumstantial and depend upon the whim of the householder. It has been found time after time that householders who register a large number of complaints against some students often neglect to complain about similar alleged misbehavior on the part of other students. It appears that one of the householder's failings is being human and preferring certain individuals while disliking others, with the consequent reporting of the latter group and protection of the former. Furthermore, householders may report identical instances of misconduct on the part of students at one time but not at another. Certain local conditions may tend to determine this vacillation. For example, if a householder has been reminded that she is expected to maintain certain standards, or if a student criticizes her because of her relative laxity or strictness compared with another householder, she may for a while tend to observe the housing and social privileges regulations.

It is to be noted from a clinical point of view that students involved in minor complaints are less likely to have a previous record of problem behavior. If, on the other hand, several complaints are made by different householders about the same student, the validity of the individual complaint seems to be increased, since it is then possible to determine whether the householders who have complained represent a cross section of householders. If among those complainants are found householders who normally get along very well with students as well as those who do not, the probability that the student needs attention is much greater. For example:

A householder reported that a girl roomer took sun baths and otherwise displayed herself in order to attract male students who lived next door. No actual instance of misconduct was mentioned, but the householder felt that this behavior identified a girl who was apparently not obtaining sufficient social satisfactions and who seemed to need to resort to unusual methods of establishing social contacts. An attitude-formation type of counseling relationship was indicated.

In order to evaluate the status of any student whose behavior has caused friction with others, the counselor must know the characteristics of the various householders, or he must be able to secure accurate information from the Student Housing Bureau. Normally, complaints of this type may be solved rather readily. One effective technique is to meet in conference in his own office with the student and the householder in order to ventilate the antagonisms which each seems to bear against the other. Almost without exception, the student, once he discovers he is the subject of a complaint, counters aggressively with many things which in his opinion are defects in the householder. He will usually assure the counselor that, because he is more tolerant or because he is trying to set matters right through individual effort, he has never bothered to notify anyone officially that such undesirable conditions exist. This will also be found to be true where a student first complains about the householder; the latter will then retort about many things wrong with the student which he had never thought worthy of mention previously.

The following case will indicate the way in which normally

satisfactory relationships suddenly erupt into serious conflict situations.

A veteran-student and his wife leased a large house from an elderly landlady and sublet rooms to other students. During the course of the year several complaints of a quite minor nature came to the dean's office and were quickly adjusted without much consultation with both parties. But near the close of the school year the student decided to cancel the lease and to move to a veterans' village. Thereupon ensued a series of involved and unproved accusations and counter-allegations concerning the condition of linen and furniture, the nonpayment of utilities accounts, etc., etc. The disciplinary counselor was forced to take direct charge of the situation and require that she be accepted by both parties as intermediary between students and landlady. At first the veteran-student insisted that he and his lawyer were quite capable of handling such a personal affair. But the counselor insisted that an open quarrel, such as this one had developed into, was no longer private. It involved the University with respect to the student's unreasonable and discourteous verbal descriptions of a woman who had always been cooperative with the University with respect to students' behavior and affairs. The counselor, thereupon, served as mediator, conciliator, and adjudicator of the claims and counterclaims. One claim was balanced against a counter one, and an adjusted amount was suggested as a reasonable compromise. For example, torn bed linen was balanced against an unpaid bill for telephone service. Thus the counselor-mediator insisted upon a settlement out of court, and at the close of the case, both parties had "cooled" emotionally so that there were no noticeable remaining "tag ends" of the original unpleasant social conflict. And the student gained new insight into the nature of his relationships and responsibilities to the University and also something of an understanding of techniques of conciliation of such conflicts. His last words to the counselor were "As a law student, I feel that it is unfortunate that the Law School does not require us to have more psychology. It is a weak spot in our training."

Interpersonal relationships are often important factors in such disputes. The student who is poised or the householder who understands the experiences of the late adolescent period is very seldom involved in personal feuds. The naive, unsophisticated, immature, or insecure student and the nascible, aged, unhappy, or grasping householder are more likely to combine within one

house with explosive effect. One of the most difficult problems encountered by a college official involves his attempts to educate householders to consider their business with students something more than just a financial enterprise.

A very frequent source of minor but emotionalized relationships is illustrated by the following situation.

A householder reported that two girls, one a graduate student, kept their room in a deplorable state of disorder. An inspection was made of the room and underwear, paper, shoes, and other paraphernalia were found to be strewn at random around the place. The girls had burned holes in the bedspread with cigarettes and had ground lighted cigarettes into the carpets. They had also spilled ink and pasted pictures on the walls. Some of the pictures had been removed with the resultant tearing of the wallpaper. The girls complained that the room was too small and their possessions too numerous to permit any semblance of order. They attempted to dismiss the complaint about property damage by saying that the equipment in the room was old and worthless.

Despite the well-understood irritation of such situations, with varying degrees of success, householders can be shown that if they accept students as they are, it is possible to do an auxiliary type of personnel work, interpreting university regulations to the students, and keeping university authorities informed about the progress of tenants both scholastically and socially. Such interchange of information is beneficial both to the institution and to the householder, because the former can identify those students who need personalized and professional services, whereas the householder will have the benefit of a better adjusted group of students more likely to cooperate with her.

The following case illustrates an established practice of utilizing counseling resources even when no catastrophic disciplinary behavior is evident:

A girl who did not adjust very well in her dormitory attended a party given by some faculty members under whom she was studying. She drank liquor at the party, but did not become intoxicated, and borrowed a professor's car to return to the dormitory. She was late—technically a violation of undergraduate women's social privileges—but she argued that, since she was in the company of faculty members and

their wives, her lateness was of no consequence. She mentioned the reactions of the instructors with regard to her returning on time and said that they thought she need not worry about the time. The dormitory director, after a long interview with the girl, referred her for counseling because of the possible effect of these misleading influences upon a student's perspective and her sense of responsibility to her dormitory mates.

Although it is not likely that any group of women students will ever exist without including among its members some girls who pay no attention to the social hours prescribed, uniformity of observation of university regulations by householders, sorority housemothers, and dormitory directors and counselors would do much to iron out the antagonisms between the groups where members of one frequently criticize those of the other. Sometimes householders and sorority housemothers are intimidated by the loss of tenants or by the threat of the loss of jobs, and, as a result, may overlook any inappropriate habits of noncooperation which some students develop. If a university wishes to utilize a disciplinary program to identify those students in need of counseling to further their personal and professional adjustments, a vigorous and continuous program is necessary to enlist cooperation of supervisors of residential units in order to further the purpose.

The *rough-house play* of one type or another in the classroom, in the library, or in the student recreational centers may provoke complaints against those students who are so unwise as to make themselves conspicuous in this respect. As in the case of personal disputes with householders, this symptomatic behavior found in various places on or off campus is frequently something which is careless but not serious. Often pranks or practical jokes turn out badly to the detriment of those who originated and perpetrated them. Often the generation of such conduct is to be found in the social psychology of the adolescent of college age. There are usually in such cases no personality or emotional factors which differentiate the culprit from the general run of students.

The following instance could be multiplied many times in the reports of every college administrator on every modern campus.

A boy and a girl were sitting in the Student Union lounge with their arms around one another. Although their mutual affection was not being carried to passionate extremes, they were requested by the hostess

to sit normally on the davenport. This infuriated the boy who "told off" the hostess in no uncertain terms that the pair were "doing nothing wrong," and that they did not appreciate her expression of opinion about their conduct. The hostess, who was a very sensible and sophisticated woman, would not usually have reported the incident as she found it, but realizing that the University sought to identify those students who seemed to need socializing education, she reported the incident and described the uncooperative attitude expressed by the students.

The genesis of other problems which arise is sometimes to be found in the housing conditions under which students live. The student who is living away from home often does not have any very appropriate place where he can entertain friends of the opposite sex. Since it is not always possible to spend money for commercial entertainments, students have many "coke dates" and others which consist of walking around or sitting down while talking. If neither student has a car or any private place where they can reveal their mutual affection, they may be tempted to indulge either in the general lounges of the recreational centers, where they seem to lose identity among the great mass of students, or in one of the clubrooms which they may find unlocked. Visiting parents are sometimes shocked when they see students holding hands or otherwise demonstrating their affection in the public places of the campus. Some parental insight is needed with respect to the fact that many students are faced with a real problem in finding any privacy for such pleasures. Certainly any collegiate institution should recognize that major and minor love affairs will occur among adolescents of college age, sometimes rather spontaneously; yet sometimes little effort is made to provide appropriate privacy either in the rooming house, sorority, dormitory, or elsewhere so that students may appropriately express mutual affection. Experiments in dormitories with special rooms have been only partially successful because of the semipublic nature of such cubbyholes and because of the few such rooms which have so many potential customers.

Disorderly Conduct

The complex of problems which are categorized as disorderly conduct includes a few delinquency problems of a severe degree.

Typical activities which are so classified are gambling, drunkenness, assault and battery, malicious destruction of property, and serious misconduct of miscellaneous types.

Drunkenness, whether it occurs on or off campus, is a problem not only because of the immediate nuisance which it entails, but also because it is frequently symptomatic of personality problems. A good deal of drunkenness arises out of unmeasured social conviviality or out of the learning opportunities which are sometimes presented to students with no previous drinking experience. Nevertheless, it is common to find that the student who gets in trouble because of excessive drinking has adopted this pattern of behavior because of certain real or imagined personal or social inadequacies. If he is socially awkward, he may find that drinking makes him less aware or perhaps less concerned about his deficiency in social skills. If he drinks with others, he may find that in their exuberance they tend to overlook certain blunders and childish mistakes which he may make. If he is a solitary drinker, he may be fixating a habit of isolating himself from those normal social and recreational activities which might otherwise provide him with satisfactions and acceptable outlets. Furthermore, many students who drink to excess can ill afford the waste of either time or money which drinking demands. Drinking among college students, however, is an age-old problem and one that does not seem destined to disappear within any foreseeable future. Students in each generation of adolescents must decide for themselves whether they will indulge in alcoholic beverages at all, and if they choose to do so, they must go through a period of training which frequently provides many pitfalls.

That college which is attempting to utilize every possible situation to facilitate growth and development of the student should not attempt to prohibit drinking by administrative fiat alone. It will usually designate certain areas as being "off limits" and will not permit drinking on the campus, in university buildings, or in residential units. It seems desirable also to restrain or disapprove drinking at the approved social parties of student organizations and at all-university functions. Such limitations are consistent with the student personnel philosophy and in fact are probably dictated by it. The use of liquor under our present legal

structure is left to the discretion of each responsible member of society, and some college students may desire to accelerate their learning of this "social right." In his exercising of this so-called right, as is true of all others, the student must learn ways of self-development which will not jeopardize equally valid rights of other students, some of whom choose to develop other types of social mores and habits.

In the last analysis, the responsibility for drinking and for self-management in all types of behavior must lie with the student. And this is often the central task of disciplinary counseling—to teach students to accept and to exercise this responsibility intelligently with due regard to their own personal development and also to the rights of others, including their obligations to their Alma Mater. In discussing this matter with students, there often appear to be many cogent arguments against the prohibition of liquor in residential quarters. From the standpoint of the individual student, as well as from that of public relations, it may appear to be more desirable to have the student drink in his room, where any disturbance he might create might be easily solved. Ordinarily the characteristics of the university or college will determine the policy of the institution toward drinking and inevitably toward drunkenness. Next to sex misconduct—and probably because of some positive relationship between the two—student drinking is probably the most frequent criticism made about college students by public analysts and critics. Counselors will find that attempts to reorganize the individual student's habits and philosophy of drinking pose a difficult problem, in that students who drink usually enjoy their drinking, or the associated behavior, and do not welcome advice or counsel, however well meant it may be. Psychiatric therapy is often necessary as a supplement to disciplinary counseling in such cases.

Gambling is a persistent problem among a relatively small group of college students, as it is in the general community. Although we all realize that the setting of small money stakes seems to enhance the interest and attentiveness of people who play cards or other games, one eventually becomes forced to discriminate between what constitutes an acceptable maximum and what may be considered an unacceptable minimum. Since lawmakers have

had trouble in attempting to solve this problem, it is not surprising that more collegiate administrators cannot find a definitive answer. The only workable approximation that has been found in most colleges is to prohibit gambling of all kinds by students, whether such gambling takes place in campus recreational areas, in residential units, or elsewhere.

The proportion of students who gamble in one way or another is not known, nor can any very accurate estimate be made of their proportion. As in all other areas of discipline, delinquency, and crime, one can only resort to the statistics of those students reported, realizing that these are probably an underestimate. Only a small fraction of the number of students complained about each year have gotten into trouble through gambling. The apprehension of such deviations will usually be found in student recreational centers, especially in billiard rooms or in card rooms. Students sometimes go to great lengths to bet money on a game of billiards or of cards, attempt to keep score, and to settle after leaving the building. Only those who are so careless as to place their money on the table or to talk about their gambling with some degree of carelessness are likely to be apprehended.

In fraternities and in dormitories, games of cards and dice, while perhaps not commonplace, are certainly not unusual in their frequency. Almost anyone who has lived in such residences will recall discussions about those historic occasions when a grand slam was made by some astute player. Probably householders are not fully aware of the extent of card playing for money which occurs in rooming houses; certainly gambling is one of the most infrequent complaints about students made by householders.

Ordinarily gambling cannot be controlled on a campus unless the morals and the feeling of college spirit is very high, and these conditions are certainly no guarantee that a monetary element will not enter into games of chance. Incidentally, it is the authors' firm conviction that spying on students, whether for gambling, drinking, or anything else, is not only inefficient and conducive to poor morale among students, but it is not in keeping with an enlightened philosophy of higher education. Despite this fact, faculty members, alumni, and parents sometimes urge that some such sort of control be established.

Occasionally gambling is promoted by individuals on a professional basis, be they students or nonstudents. Such instances are particularly serious because "suckers" will be enticed into a seemingly harmless game and fleeced of money which they need desperately to pay their other collegiate expenses. The following instance is not an isolated one on many campuses.

The manager of a bookstore, who was attempting to collect a bill from a student, was told by the latter that he could not pay his bill because he had lost all his money in a poker game. The boy described the game as being more or less of a continuous one, which took place in the residence of a married student. The manager consulted a university official and the game was investigated. It was learned that a student and a nonstudent, both of whom were excellent poker players, made a practice of enticing less experienced players into these games for fairly high stakes. The victims might lose as much as \$50 in an evening. The two promoters, while not getting rich, were supporting themselves in a very comfortable style from the proceeds of these games. One of them, the student, was not only supporting his family, but paying his collegiate expenses.

Somewhat allied to this type of activity are the occasional attempts by students to *circulate punchboards* or *raffle contests* either as individuals or as representatives of student organizations. Student groups usually may be anticipated in such moves through regular reviews of activities programs by the activities bureau. One of the writers recalls an instance where a student asked specifically whether it was all right for him to permit students to pay a small fee for selecting each Friday a group of football teams which might win the fall contests. He who would be skillful or lucky enough to select a combination, each of whom would win, could collect a handsome prize. The student was told that the venture was not considered appropriate to campus solicitation, but he pressed the matter further, asking for a legal opinion. When a member of the law school gave the opinion that such selling of chances was illegal under the statutes, the student accepted the opinion, but remarked that he thought there was no harm in trying to promote the venture. Numerous instances on such occasions in which a student shows foresight are unusual, even with an offense like gambling.

Destruction of property, whether malicious or not, is not an infrequent concomitant of celebrations of traditional rivalry such as Engineers' Day and other college activities. On such occasions it is not unusual for the traditional rivals of the college—foresters, the mining students, or the arts college students—to raise havoc with decorations or preparations, the damages sometimes being not inconsiderable. Such rivalries and competitions are mutually stimulating in that the injured group will attempt to outdo its opponent when the latter has his day of celebration. Thus the engineers may chop down the trees which the foresters had planned to use for a tree-chopping contest, with the result that the latter in retaliation will kidnap the queen of Engineers' Day, destroy exhibits, or paint the classroom buildings in gaudy and inharmonious shades.

Homecoming celebrations provide campus-wide opportunities for practical jokes of a kind that are destructive or expensive. Some overly eager individual may light the bonfire a day or two ahead of the rally, and, on such occasions where the fire is not attended, it may spread to nearby property, causing considerable damage. On one campus a large football and the figure of an animal which were used yearly as part of the campus decorations were "hijacked" yearly and reconstructed on the porch of an unfortunate sorority. This prank not only had nuisance value, but often cost the sorority the money required to repair the porch which had been damaged and always cost the college the money of sending a truck a quarter of a mile to haul the decorations back to the campus. Such consequences were, of course, part of the motivations touching off the original behavior.

Bitter and destructive rivalries between various colleges or classes can most effectively be prevented and controlled by a sound program of group work or activities planning. Directly competitive events can be scheduled which provide direct outlets upon one another rather than upon scapegoats, the most prominent of which is usually the college. Once a program is begun which directs and channels the energies of the competing groups, wanton or careless destruction of property can usually be avoided. While energies are being best directed, it is well to remember that possible outbreaks should always be anticipated and efforts

made each year to secure the understanding of representatives of both groups to provide a sufficient number of acceptable competitive events to prevent destruction of property. Within such a framework, or rather outside of it, there may still be a few rugged individualists who believe that the other fellow's preparations need some personal attention.

Another offense which may be classified here is the *destruction of books and periodicals in the library*. For example:

A student removed from the library a periodical which was for use only in the building. She ignored repeated calls from the library requesting that she return the magazine. Investigation revealed that the girl had marked the periodical with ink and was therefore afraid to return it. When counseled, she paid for the cost of replacement.

Curiously enough, the authors have not found this offense to be much of a problem in a very large university despite the fact that representatives of smaller institutions frequently complain of the extent of damage and amount of money involved in such vandalism. Most faculty members, and certainly those who have a high regard for scholarship and research, regard this as a very serious offense against the institution. One dean, who had weathered a number of serious and shocking events, seriously raised the question whether students who take books or periodicals under fictitious names or who destroy or steal library property should not be dismissed from the institution. Many students, who regard the library as a mere convenience involving no personal responsibility, have little respect for the library and the literature which it houses, and they fail to see how anyone can make so much fuss over a mere book which has been defaced or stolen. Counseling, in such cases, involves teaching an insight into the sociology of privileges and responsibilities.

Assault and battery is usually a rare occurrence on the campus, despite the fact that a number of normal, healthy young males need to find some physical outlet for their aggression. Other miscellaneous types of serious misconduct may be classified as disorderly provided that the degree seems to be rather severe. There is no clear-cut line of demarcation for classifying such matters, but they are usually judged in the light of the consequences of the

misconduct and its degree of intensity and extensity. If, for example, a complaint is made that a girl is dating a married man, the affair may be viewed in one light. When she is seriously disturbing the peace in so doing, it may be considered more undesirable, as the following case will illustrate.

The wife of a citizen living near the campus complained that a coed was occupying a good deal of her husband's time. Supposedly this girl was employed by this man in his business, but under pretext of having to work at night, this man would leave his wife and accompany the student to nightclubs and taverns. One morning she invited him into the living room of her rooming house at two o'clock in the morning, but the watchful householder ejected him. In a drunken rage at some real or fancied grievance, he returned home, beat his wife, compared her unfavorably to the coed, and caused such a commotion that the neighbors called the police.

Speeding in an automobile through a crowded campus is usually considered disorderly conduct because of the menace to the welfare of students. The average student, as he leisurely plods to class, does not anticipate traffic hazards which he would meet off campus, and he is likely to cross the street at any place in a leisurely fashion and may be totally unprepared to meet emergencies arising when he sees a car bearing down upon him at thirty or thirty-five miles an hour. Traffic problems on a large campus may be considerable because a student who is hurrying to class cannot find adequate parking space or because his classes are so far apart that he cannot walk the distance within the allotted period between classes.

Sex Misconduct

Sex misconduct may be defined as any sexual behavior which is considered improper according to law or according to the prevailing mores of the society or community concerned. Included are extramarital sexual relations, overt homosexuality, rape, indecent assault, and perverted behavior of a psychosexual nature such as the writing of obscene letters. The term immorality is defined by Webster as "a state or quality of being inconsistent with rectitude, purity, or good morals; . . . wickedness; unjust-

ness, viciousness; licentiousness"; but popular usage has limited the word largely to include those matters involving sex misconduct. Kallen is one of many commentators who has recognized this:³

Rarely is any person called "immoral" because he cheats, steals, or murders; but let him be guilty of sexual "misconduct"—fornication, adultery, pederasty or any other unlegalized sex relationship—and he is also guilty of "immorality."

Although in a broad sense any transgression of laws or ethics is an example of immorality, discussions of the misbehavior of college students usually restricts the meaning as Kallen has described it. Despite the fact that many people think of college discipline as remedial treatment of one kind or another for immoral or sex misconduct, complaints about such behavior comprise a very small proportion of all complaints about students' behavior, as will be seen in the next chapter.

Our knowledge about the full extent of extramarital sex relationships between unmarried children, adults, or college students is still less than complete.⁴ Estimates have been made that as many as 50 per cent of all women who have married since the recent economic depression have had sexual intercourse prior to marriage; but few verifiable statistics are available to prove any

³ Horace M. Kallen, "Sex Morals and the Unmarried Adult," in Wile, Ira S., editor, *The Sex Life of the Unmarried Adult*, p. 233, Vanguard Press, Inc., New York, 1934.

⁴ Detailed information about the nature and incidence of sex behavior will be found in the following

Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1948.

Lewis Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938.

G. V. Hamilton, *A Research in Marriage*, Albert & Charles Boni, Inc., New York, 1929.

Katharine Bement Davis, *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1929.

Ira S. Wile, editor, *The Sex Life of the Unmarried Adult*, Vanguard Press, Inc., New York, 1934.

Georgene Seward, *Sex and the Social Order*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1946.

such contentions. It is certain, however, that such relationships are by no means uncommon among unmarried or even among married people. In his study of marital adjustment and happiness Terman found that premarital sexual experience had a small negative relationship to marital happiness.⁵ Arguments have been advanced that unmarried individuals should not be cut off from what is typically considered a marital privilege, but psychiatrists and psychologists have often produced evidence that premarital promiscuity by a person of either sex with a large number of members of the opposite sex has hindered a monogamous adjustment after marriage.

Sex relationships among young people today, if not more numerous than those of the pre-World War I generation,⁶ appear to be looked upon with more tolerance by many of the adolescent age group. A social and moral revolution has been taking place since the early 1920's, when women achieved "equality" with men, when automobiles began to make our society much more mobile, and when intoxicating drinking became popular in defiance of prohibition. With the evolution of the independent social status of women, has been born a new role in society, that of the *single person*. Burgess points out that the single person with an independent status in society is a phenomenon peculiar to modern times.⁷ The development of this role through the past 25 years has had a great effect in shaping the mores of sex behavior of the present generation. There have not been concomitant changes in laws and taboos, but Ernst cites several instances in which the courts have placed wider and wider interpretations upon laws in order to prevent being swamped by illegal sex conduct.⁸

Burgess cites the comments made by an observer concerning the social life of an earlier generation of college students.⁹

⁵ Terman, *op cit*

⁶ Kinsey, *et al*, *op cit*, p 397.

⁷ Ernest W Burgess, "Sociological Aspects of the Sex Life of the Unmarried Adult," in Wile, *op cit*., p 18

⁸ Morris L. Ernst, "Changing Laws and Changing Attitudes," in Wile, *op cit*, p. 224

⁹ Burgess, in Wile, *op. cit*, pp. 128-129.

This mid-western University is located in a state with a Puritan impress which was still quite marked in the years preceding the World War. Students thronged the local churches for Sunday School, morning and evening service. The different religious denominations maintained flourishing religious and recreational centers upon the campus itself.

In contrast with this undoubtedly healthy religious and moral tone of the student body, certain incidents during one year in which notes were kept are indicative of trends in sexual behavior and attitude. A young woman is shocked to find that in her sorority of thirty members she is the only one who would refuse to marry a suitor who had deviated from the single standard of morality. In a leading fraternity a truth session brought out admissions of sexual experiences from all but three of its twenty-five members.

In spite of active efforts at suppression on the part of the University administration, a scandal sheet made its sensational appearance two or three times during the school year. Its contents were a curious combination of rebellion against the sexual taboo and of the reformist spirit of youth, subtle and not so subtle risqué jokes and epigrams, stories of double meaning, and most prominently featured, an exposé of the double life of campus "celebrities," men who were keeping company, at the same time, with respectable girls from the campus circle and town gals of doubtful reputation.

During the year there occurred certain incidents of greater or less notoriety. The local daily paper played up on its front page the details of the arrest of a prominent student who was a regular attendant at church. The news story gave the details of his arrest by the police in the act with a town gal in a local park. A landlady protested to the University authorities about the behavior of a student roomer, who, without her knowledge, had inveigled a young working woman to his room for the night. Two freshman gals who had just failed of acceptance by a sorority were reported by those "in the know" as paying the price required for association with two of the big fraternity men of the campus.

The whole picture, to be true, is one of the relative wholesomeness of the social life of college young people with only occasional moral derelictions still held in rather tightly by prevailing Puritan sanctions.

The use of automobiles, according to Burgess, was forbidden for a long time in many institutions of higher learning because of their importance in destroying the old-time solidarity of the col-

lege community.¹⁰ He quotes from several personal documents written by college students describing their introduction to or experience in sex affairs.¹¹

Frederick Lewis Allen has given perhaps the most succinct and readable analysis of those factors which made America publicly aware of sex.¹² Giving Freud credit for having introduced the word into the modern vocabulary, he ascribes the automobile, the confession and sex magazines, and the movies as the principal forces which, coming in the context of the postwar period, accelerated this revolution. Blumer, in *Movies and Conduct*, describes the influence of motion pictures upon the sex attitudes and behavior of adolescents.¹³ The American public has recovered from the first shock of Judge Ben Lindsay's advocacy of "companionate marriage" on a legal basis and probably today a restatement of his ideas would produce something less than the sensation of the late twenties. The wide dissemination of birth control information and the publicized greater ease in the securing of divorces have probably contributed to the modern youth's attitude upon extramarital sex relationships.

Burgess holds hope that the shifts in mores will not deviate too greatly from the folkways of the American culture, and he predicts that a social revolution will not take place, upturning and remolding the mores of the American people.¹⁴ Even though a disciplinary counselor may be aware of the social, psychological, and biological dynamics which operate upon the adolescent in an institution of higher learning, he must be sensitive to the fact that other students are frequently outraged by these deviations in sex behavior. The morale of the student body or of a residential unit must be considered in dealing with sex offenders. For example:

A student complained that her roommate had stayed out overnight for three consecutive nights. She said that she and the other girls in

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-137.

¹² Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1931.

¹³ H. Blumer, *Movies and Conduct*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933.

¹⁴ Burgess, in Wile, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154.

the rooming house were highly incensed over this situation because they believed the offender had been staying at a hotel with her boy friend. The complainant said that her roommate had become highly incensed when other girls in the house had remonstrated with her for her flagrant violation of privileges.

Of primary importance to a counselor is the complex of predisposing psychological and social factors. The adolescent whose sex misconduct arises from a pattern of maladjustments rather than through pagan experimentation is likely to find his or her adjustment problems more complicated because of the new stresses which promiscuity introduces. For example:

A woman student who spent most of her evenings in a "beer joint" adjacent to the campus began to get an undesirable reputation because she "picked up" almost any man she met. It was discovered that almost nightly this girl picked up some student in the tavern, took him to her room in a rooming house, where she entertained him for periods ranging from one hour to four or five hours. She gained access to her room with her companions without the householder's knowledge by sneaking in through the back door. When interviewed, the girl, who was in poor health, in financial difficulties, and in educational entanglements, spoke vaguely of her engagement to a medical student who lived in another part of the country. A year later when her health had improved through a change of climate, she made a voluntary visit to the counselor, stated that she had broken her nebulous engagement, and had found herself both vocationally and personally. Her personal appearance had improved vastly, her crippling deformity had ceased to bother her, and she possessed the appearance and bearing of a poised, mature woman. She talked frankly about her earlier behavior, and gave every evidence of having achieved personal stability and mature judgment.

Although *extramarital sex relations* constitute the vast majority of sex offenses, certain other troublesome situations also recur from one student generation to another. Overt homosexuality, which may be defined as sexual relations between two persons of the same sex, will be found to occur in a small number of cases. Although a very small number of complaints may be made in any one year about *homosexuality* among students, the incidence is undoubtedly greater than the number of complaints would indi-

cate. College psychiatrists have found that when a homosexual student is referred for, or voluntarily seeks, assistance, this contact will be followed by a number of others with friends who also seek treatment. Most states have severe penalties for the practice of homosexuality, and any disciplinary counselor who is not medically licensed should refer such cases to a psychiatrist, rather than assume the responsibility for counseling the student. The psychiatrist's relationship with such an individual is legally recognized, and unless the disciplinary counselor has full approval from the medical staff he should be wary of poaching in this area where the medical man is legally and socially protected. For instance:

A former student who had received a master's degree in literature secured a routine clerical job in the university in order to make contacts with students and servicemen for homosexual purposes. He advertised his intentions through writing appropriate notes on the walls of the toilets in campus buildings. Upon his apprehension, it was learned that he was rooming with a seventeen-year-old student whom he had made the victim of his sodomistic practices. The younger student had been too frightened to resist or to move out of the rooming house. The younger student was referred to the psychiatrist to remedy any traumatic developments which might have resulted from this experience. The older man was sent to a state institution for psychiatric rehabilitation.

In a situation of this kind, where the offender is beyond the scope of university resources and where his behavior is menacing to innocent victims, precautions must be taken to insure that the offender will not be free to recruit other students into homosexual practices. The most lenient attitude any university could afford to take would be to insist only that the homosexual does not recruit nonhomosexuals and induct them into perverted practices. It is desirable, however, that homosexuality be identified whenever possible, in order that psychiatric treatment may be instituted to assist the individual to a more effective adjustment to society. Kinsey reports that the incidence of homosexuality at the college age is less for college students than for the noncollege population.¹⁵

¹⁵ Kinsey, *et al.*, *op cit.*, p 636.

Complaints of *indecent assault* or *rape* are usually very uncommon, but they are not unknown to campus administrators. Indecent assault is here meant to indicate sexual assault of a perverted nature. Rape and its somewhat more frequent concomitant, molesting of women, occur from time to time. The actual incidence is not known accurately. College students do not appear to be guilty of rape, although tales are sometimes told of persuasive violence or threats used in seductions. Coeds, on the other hand, are sometimes victims of such assault. Of six known cases occurring over a five-year period, all took place within a year and a half of the close of the war. Three of these alleged assaults were committed by ex-servicemen who were not students, two were servicemen who were unidentified, and the sixth attacker was never found. One of the three ex-servicemen was imprisoned for his attack. Four of the victims had met the culprits through casual contacts in places of commercial recreation. One had met the boy on a blind date, and the sixth was cruelly attacked and assaulted without warning. Of the six cases, only the latter seemed clearly to be an unprovoked or uninvited assault. In each of the other five, there seemed to be some element of doubt about the whole situation because of the casual and careless manner in which the girls associated with strangers.

In these five cases it appeared that the girls were in need of counseling to illuminate their recreational and personal habits which had led them to become involved in such situations, and all were considered to be counseling cases.

The *molesting of women students or of nonstudents* by university men is somewhat more common. Such molesting may consist of indecent exposure, slugging, or other violent or semiviolent approaches. On one occasion several students kidnaped a girl and held her prisoner for several hours, but did not molest her. Exhibitionists that occasionally annoy and frighten coeds are usually difficult to identify or to capture. In such instances the assistance of the police may be valuable, since in most communities they are acquainted with habitual exhibitionists.

Exhibitionism is more properly classified as a kind of perverted behavior of a psychosexual nature. Probably the most common

complaint of this type is obscenity in its various forms. These expressions of a warped personality are usually very cleverly concealed, and unless some sort of detective can be used the offender will escape identification.

A group of sorority girls complained that they were receiving indecent letters which, although not obscene, were of an erotic nature. Shortly thereafter, lewd and obscene drawings were found posted in the women's washroom of a university building. The university investigator, a trained detective, succeeded in apprehending the student who was putting up these signs and proved that he had also written the erotic letters. A variety of obscene books and photographs were discovered in the student's possession, and a collection of them was found in his home. He had a previous history of having stolen several automobiles. The court committed him to a state hospital for psychiatric treatment.

Complaints are seldom if ever received about the *milder forms of brutality or violence* exercised by students in seeking sexual relationships. It seems certain that various kinds of physical and psychological pressures are used to coerce women students into such affairs. In the experience of the authors only one such case has been reported when a student allegedly threatened a girl with a gun and attempted to force her to have sexual intercourse. For some reason the girl withdrew the charge and left school, but the validity of her complaint seemed enhanced when the student three years later returned to the campus and allegedly attacked a coed.

Students who are guilty of the various kinds of sex misconduct other than simple extramarital sex relationships comprise a very small proportion of the total number of disciplinary cases, but the prognosis for these individuals is usually poor. Intensive psychotherapy should be attempted, but it is not easy to secure the necessary cooperation from students with these defects. The counselor must always keep in mind that such a person may be a serious menace to the welfare of the student body, and rapid drastic steps may be necessary to protect the community. The counselor can ill afford to forget that an aggressive sex deviate may be a potential assaulter, and his field of operations must be drastically circumscribed to prevent such aggressive behavior.

In counseling students who have been victims of traumatic sex experiences, the counselor will do well to remember Terman's findings about the future mental health of these victims. He found that the less the attendant publicity and shame, the more wholesome the future prospects for the victims.¹⁶ The unfortunate policy of newspapers to print names, addresses, and even pictures of attack victims is not designed to facilitate their adjustment to the experience, and their plight is further complicated by the fact that many cranks and perverts write atrocious letters to those people who receive such publicity from the press. From all this it would appear that the readjustments of victims of sex attacks, whether unnatural or not, constitute almost as great a problem of rehabilitation as the aggressors, who may be locked up as a last resort.

Petting is a "delicate" subject in most colleges and high schools. Parents, school administrators, and the public often complain about the frequency and extent of petting by college boys and girls. But Kinsey contends that petting as we see it today is a fairly recent development. In the period 1910 to 1925 such a phenomenon was far less common. He describes petting, to some extent at least, as "the outcome of the upper educational level's attempt to avoid premarital intercourse."¹⁷ Extensive petting is differentially considered bad manners or bad morals by various strata of society.¹⁸ Each college must make its own adaptation to this problem; eradication of it entirely seems to be a most unlikely solution. At best it seems to be a dubious compromise between abstinence and promiscuity. More important, however, is its relationship to future psychosexual adjustments, an aspect that deserves further study. Terman found no significant relationship between premarital petting and marital happiness scores,¹⁹ but he found some tendency for more satisfactory sexual adjustment in marriage for those wives who said they had petted "frequently" or "very frequently" before marriage.²⁰ Kinsey also comments on

¹⁶ Terman, *op cit*

¹⁷ Kinsey, *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 541

¹⁹ Terman, *op cit.*, p. 256.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

this phenomenon, although his data were not structured to bring out such precise relationships.²¹

Theft and Burglary

Apart from cases of kleptomania, which are not very often found among students, the problem of *theft* is a very complicated one, because of the difficulties in identifying the thief and also in attempting to effect some rehabilitation. Theft, whether it includes items of large or small value, appears usually to be symptomatic of some emotional conflict which, though often easy to discover, is not easy to treat. The category of theft as a classification for disciplinary problems includes matters of theft, robbery, burglary, embezzlement, and promotional undertakings by students in which they receive commissions or "rake-offs" at the expense of other students.

It seems probable that theft is the most frequent "major" crime that exists in colleges and universities. In most cases where a theft is reported by a student living in a rooming house or dormitory, the counselor has learned that there have been a series of thefts which have never been reported. These may have occurred over a period of a week, a month, or a year. Individual thefts of small amounts of money ranging up to five dollars are often not reported and usually the situation occurs several times before any steps are taken to report the matter. If a large amount of money is stolen it is much more likely to be reported promptly. When a small theft is reported, it is almost axiomatic that investigation will reveal other similar losses occurring. Thefts of clothes, books, and personal belongings are seldom reported by students if the loss occurs in a residence. When such losses occur in classrooms or on campus they are more often reported. Frequently in such cases the item has been lost rather than stolen, and it turns up in the Lost and Found Department.

Stealing would seem to be both an easy and difficult thing to do. It is easy in the sense that stolen money is difficult to identify. It is also easy in the sense that students are often careless in leaving money on desks or dressers whether they are out of the room temporarily or away from the residence. It is difficult in the sense

²¹ Kinsey, *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

that someone may appear unexpectedly on the scene and surprise the culprit in the act of stealing. The tension which is generated in a residence where thefts occur also creates difficulty for the person who has stolen. Oddly enough, however, innocent students are suspected of theft in residences almost as frequently as the guilty ones. Suspicion directed at a student after a theft has occurred has been found to be aimed at the wrong person almost as often as not. For this reason it is extremely important that every possible method of investigation be used exhaustively when a student is accused of theft, a condition which did not obtain in the following case:

A student in a professional school robbed the cashier of a store in order to secure money to pay his educational and wedding expenses. This man's family was, if not wealthy, at least very well off financially and this escapade seemed foolish and senseless. Unfortunately, the immediate and summary dismissal of this student from college made impossible any thorough and rational investigation of the student's motivations and rehabilitation possibilities.

A pernicious effect upon student morale is almost certain to result in any residence where thefts occur in any frequency. Few kinds of delinquency give rise to so much suspicion, mutual distrust, and bickering. Latent prejudices and dislikes are usually stirred up in a residence where there is persistent thievery. Despite these unfortunate developments, the victims often appear reluctant to report their losses.

Theft may occur elsewhere than in the residence, but usually the concomitant demoralization is not attendant when the offense occurs in classrooms, lunchrooms, or the library. In the long run theft will be found to occur in almost every place where people congregate. Many people regard thievery as an especially contemptible form of delinquency, hence we have the term "sneak thief." Such attitudes are based upon superficial thinking which is not appropriate in an educational institution. One of the educational functions which may have to be undertaken when dealing with student victims and residence or rooming house directors is to acquaint them with the importance of such symptoms as stealing in the personality integration of a thief. To this end it is

desirable to consider some of the implications for the personal adjustment of the offender.

William Healy was one of the first writers systematically to explore the relationship of basic personal conflicts to delinquent behavior.²² In his early work with Bronner, Healy found about seven per cent of all delinquents could be identified as having basic conflicts which resulted in delinquency. He points out that at this particular stage they were "not aware of the possible frequency of this factor and very likely did not always discover it."²³ In a later study Healy and Bronner found that only 9 delinquents of a group of 96 did not have strong emotional disturbances. They were compared on this point with their siblings who were nondelinquent, and of the latter group only 14 per cent had experienced some considerable degree of emotional discomfort as far as the investigators could find. There were, of course, minor emotional upsets in the sibling group, but in general they seemed to have found counterbalancing satisfactions.²⁴

Symonds, discussing the kinds of defenses used against anxiety, mentions that some children tend to steal in order to be able to give. In other words, the manifestation may reflect restitution and be motivated by anxiety or guilt feelings.²⁵ This writer also discusses stealing as a reaction formation, as, for example, in the case of denying the wish to be given things.²⁶ He also attributes some stealing, especially that of personal property, to a desire for affection. In effect the child is saying that he wants to be loved or wants attention and is taking an object which is part of or belonging to the object of his affection.²⁷ Wickes has also pointed out that lying and stealing are symptoms of the desire for love

²² William Healy, *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, Little, Brown, & Co., Boston, 1917. See also Franz Alexander and William Healy, *Roots of Crime*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1935.

²³ Healy, *op cit*, pp. 7-8.

²⁴ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*, Chap. VIII, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1936.

²⁵ Percival M. Symonds, *The Dynamics of Human Adjustment*, p. 186, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1946.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 500.

and understanding.²⁸ Others have discussed the emotional instability which results from parental rejection of children.²⁹

In accepting such a point of view and accepting the student for what he is while not condoning the offense, we are making the same distinction held in some religious circles that one should "hate the sin but not the sinner"! The remedial techniques differ from those used in religious work. Although the discussion of treatment techniques is reserved for a later chapter, it may be said here that treatment is often very difficult in cases of theft. Freud and Aichhorn have pointed out that parental rejection carries strong cravings for affection which may never be satisfied during the lifetime of an individual.³⁰ In view of the experience of these clinicians it is not always feasible to attempt a reorganization of attitudes. In many cases an understanding of the problem and management of it are the most that may be accomplished. A brief description of one case highlights some of the problems involved

A girl was discovered by her fellow roomers to have stolen articles, including money, and to have hidden them in her trunk. Unfortunately, she disposed of the stolen materials before the report was made to the disciplinary counselor. The girl denied the stealing, but when examined on a lie detector showed unmistakable evidences of guilt. She still persisted in her denials, and an examination by a psychiatrist and a clinical psychologist resulted in the opinion that the girl, who was a classic picture of a hysteric, could be guilty and have amnesia for the theft episodes. More than two years of intensive psychotherapy failed to produce any desired changes.

While most offenses classified in this category are matters of theft, occasionally complaints are made about students charging them with robbery, burglary, or embezzlement. The number of

²⁸ F. G. Wickes, *The Inner World of Childhood*, pp. 40-41, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1927.

²⁹ Percival M. Symonds, *The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationships*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1939.

A. Aichhorn, *Wayward Youth*, The Viking Press, Inc., New York, 1925.

³⁰ Sigmund Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, Garden City Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 1943.

Aichhorn, *op. cit.*

cases so classified during a six-year period were too few to permit the authors to generalize about the circumstances or the personalities of the students involved. Usually such an individual will show some pathology in his family or social relationships, as in the following case

A student arrested for armed robbery was found to have a history of quarrelsome and unsatisfactory social relationships, broken family, and relatives or antecedents having a number of felony convictions and other relatives with a history of sexual promiscuity and venereal disease. This boy's record in the armed service included fights, excessive indulgence in various forms of alcohol, and desertion. He had a pleasant and disarming façade and his psychopathy was not suspected at the time he was admitted to college.

Embezzling is known to be a crime frequently associated with relatively high intelligence on the campus. It perhaps calls for a kind of sophistication which college students do not yet possess. Certainly the opportunities for treasurers and managers of student organizations are plentiful if they have any inclination to embezzle. The establishment of good financial and social review of the activities of a student organization is a factor which serves to make this a form of delinquency that is very infrequent in occurrence.

A deflection which is more likely to be found is the exploitation of certain *promotional activities* for personal gain. Although it is not common, it is by no means an unknown occasion for a student who is making arrangements for a large party to accept money from competing hotels or other business organizations which wish to secure the business. For a large party such as an all-university function, this graft might amount to several hundred dollars. Again, the number of individuals involved in such enterprises are too few to permit generalizations. But it seems certain that the business practices of some commercial organizations may serve as a stimulus to a student lacking ethical convictions. It is easy for some students to rationalize that that is the way of the world and therefore not really wrong.

A generalized example may be duplicated in the records of many campuses:

The manager of a student activity was questioned about a shortage in his accounts. Reports from various sources indicated that he had been "spending money like a drunken sailor." While as business manager he denied any theft or embezzlement, he agreed to assume responsibility for the shortage.

In general it may be said that theft can be an extremely serious problem on a campus and the students involved may be difficult to correct. A surprisingly small proportion of thefts seem to occur because of real financial problems. More often than not stealing serves to identify individuals in greater or lesser stages of maladjustment.

Misuse of Privileges

Ranking high in incidence among the misdemeanors of college students are the relatively minor, yet often irritating, ways in which they use university privileges and services. Student athletic tickets are usually nontransferable; yet many students loan their tickets to friends. Sometimes they buy a ticket for a friend despite the fact that regulations may provide that tickets will be sold only to the user. Others loan their library cards to friends or take books out of the library without going through the proper formalities. Others use various kinds of identification issued to students in ways in which they were not intended to be used. Through the use of borrowed student identifications nonstudents or high school students may be brought to student functions. Ordinarily the misuse or abuse of these and other privileges reflect ignorance on the part of students about protocol, or sometimes knowledge of regulations may be put aside because certain objectives cannot be achieved if policies and procedures are observed. Since these are not major regulations students may disregard them. It is even possible that poor morale among students may be reflected in widespread troubles occurring in this area.

Most students do not understand much about the internal workings and details essential to the operation of a large educational institution. The fact that the library staff want to know where their books are and who has them is not an appealing concept to many students. Students realize that even though they may not observe library procedures they themselves are honest, and after

all they will return the book or take care of other details when it is convenient to do so. The facts that the library operates on a limited budget and that members of the staff have plenty of work to do without additional worries apparently do not suggest themselves to the student.

Sometimes tradition varies within a group such as a fraternity or a sorority which emphasizes the desirability of outwitting the librarian or the athletic ticket manager, manager of the union, or other staff members. It is not unknown that such projects or objectives may be made a part of initiation into a student group in the same way that one may expect an initiate of a fraternity to collect a no-parking sign from a public street corner. When such conditions are discovered, remedial work should be done with the group as a whole through counselors, housemothers, and officers. It has not generally been found in the experience of the writers that students offending in this category tend to offend in other categories. Further analyses of our data are necessary to verify this, but cross-relationships to other problems are not prominent with this group of students. Misuse of privileges is perhaps the analogue of "the little white lie" of which most people are guilty at one time or another. A minor problem of this kind, however, offers opportunities to assist students in thinking inclusively about their responsibilities and in extending their behavior in an appropriate fashion.

A more overt and serious example of the misuse of facilities is involved in the following situation.

Four youths were found playing football in the Student Union during a business afternoon. The game was noisy and rough endangering at times the welfare of other students. One student who was apprehended was quite intoxicated and upon being taken to the director's office for identification he locked himself in the room when the director stepped out to telephone the dean's office. This boy was too besotted to remember instructions given to him to report to the disciplinary counselor the following morning, and a follow-up telephone call had to be made to remind him of his appointment.

Miscellaneous

Every classification has to have a catchall where problems which do not fit neatly elsewhere may be classified. In the categories

used in this chapter not all possible forms of misconduct have been described. A few examples would perhaps best illustrate the type of problem that may fall in this category. Most of the problems so classified would be nonrecurrent ones and would not be closely related to the types of problems usually met and otherwise classified. The student who applies for admission to the university may come under scrutiny because he is on parole from a state prison. He may have been dropped from another educational institution. In such cases it is necessary that an evaluation of the student be made and that his potentialities for scholarship and conduct be carefully studied. Risks to the university must be minimized, but its obligations must also be met. A man who is paroled from prison is entitled to a chance to reestablish himself, and an educational institution, especially if it is a public one, ought to do whatever it can to facilitate his reassimilation into society.

A far more involved and serious maladjustment and misconduct *sometimes* lies beneath an identified "miscellaneous" and minor situation, as the following case will illustrate:

In checking the residence of students, a staff member of the Housing Bureau discovered that a woman student was living in a hotel of very poor quality. This hotel was located near a railroad station and such a situation might indicate that a student had come to town and unknowingly secured quarters of questionable desirability. A thorough investigation, however, revealed that this woman had been involved in violations of Federal statutes and had exhibited numerous symptoms of undesirable and asocial behavior. Although technically her violation was a minor one, the Disciplinary Committee felt that within the framework of the University, it would not be possible to rehabilitate this woman. The Committee, therefore, recommended to the president that she be dismissed from the University.

Episodes which occur only once may also be thus classified. Among the offenses which have been placed in this category are cheating in examinations or plagiarism that is referred to the All-university Disciplinary Committee rather than to a college student work committee. In some institutions a scholastic disciplinary matter involving the jurisdiction of two or more colleges is referred to the All-university Committee. For example, a student in Liberal Arts may be taking a course offered by the School of Business,

and both colleges have an interest in offenses which occur, but neither may have complete jurisdiction. Persistent absences from class, from military drill, from gymnasium or other required courses sometimes come to the attention of the disciplinary counselor. On one occasion students who were dissatisfied with the way a campus election was going spilled acid in the ballot boxes, destroying a large number of votes.

A more serious type of misbehavior is illustrated as follows.

A student whose request to transfer to another college within the University had been refused, secured a blueprint of his official record and again applied to the college of his choice. Upon looking at the blueprint the chairman of the faculty committee discovered that white ink had been used to raise some grades. This discovery precipitated an investigation of the student's past behavior and record. His transfer credentials were scrutinized and suspicious details were noted. It was then discovered that this student had presented his transfer credentials in person. Upon writing to the former college to request another official transcript of grades, the director of admissions learned that the student did not have an honorable dismissal from his previous college and had altered the transcript which he submitted upon entering the University. The seriousness of the offense lies, in large part, in the possible undermining of the integrity of the institution's degree which is based upon assumed accurate grades in required and approved courses.

Problems classified as miscellaneous show no particular consistency or homogeneity, and it is therefore impossible to generalize about them. As in all other cases, each one is treated as an individual situation involving a student or several students—a situation with its own peculiar dynamics and human weaknesses. As in any kind of a disciplinary case, differential diagnosis of the individual is made to ascertain treatment, techniques, and objectives. As with students involved in other kinds of problems, the prognosis will depend on what can be learned from the case study. Appropriate remedial techniques are then instituted. Obviously more detailed analyses of these miscellaneous cases are needed to determine more precisely their nature and thus to derive more meaningful categories of behavior.

The varieties of *dishonesty in examinations* are numerous; they

include copying from others in an examination, the use of crib notes, plagiarism, having a friend take an examination, and the stealing and dishonest use of examinations. The problem of scholastic dishonesty is a continuing one and the authors have been asked about this problem more often than any other particular kind. In the University of Minnesota, scholastic discipline is handled by officials within each college, with the exception of those cases which involve students who are, individually, registered in different colleges. These latter cases come under the jurisdiction of the All-university Disciplinary Committee but they constitute too small a group of offenses each year to warrant extended discussion or generalization.

The frequency of cheating among college students is not definitely known. Studies by Parr, Campbell, and Fenton indicate that from 42 to 63 per cent of students cheat in experimental situations.⁵¹ Parr found cheating slightly more prevalent among college men than college women. He also found that honesty correlated with the students' quantile groupings on the American Council on Education Psychological Examination. Dishonesty was related to the age of students' entrance into college, the scholastic rating of the student, occupation of the parent, and the degree of the students' economic self-support. There was some relationship with age, dishonesty increased in frequency from ages seventeen to twenty-one but decreased at age twenty-two. Fraternity and sorority members in this study were slightly more dishonest than were nonmembers. Almost one-third of the students whose fathers were engaged in professional occupations cheated; approximately two-thirds of the students whose fathers belonged to the lower socioeconomic classes cheated. Parr also found that former Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls were more often honest than were students who belonged to other character building organizations. He concluded that students tended to be dis-

⁵¹ F. W. Parr, "The Problem of Student Honesty," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 7, pp. 318-326, 1936.

William G. Campbell, "Measurement in Determining the Personality and Behavior of the College Cribber," *Education*, Vol. 53, pp. 403-408, 1933.

Norman Fenton, "An Objective Study of Student Honesty During Examinations," *School and Society*, Vol. 26, pp. 341-344, 1927.

honest when it was necessary for them to do so to compete with other students and he thought any factor or condition producing pressure tends to lead to dishonesty. He also emphasized the fact that his percentages were conservative estimates since there had been no pressure on the students to be dishonest in his experiment. Parenthetically his study would have been more useful had he computed the significance of differences between groups.

Campbell reported that 56 per cent of the members of his experimental group cheated in examinations. He considered this a conservative estimate. The Bernreuter Personality Inventory was administered to this group and Campbell concluded that cheaters were more neurotic on this test. Fenton's subjects were college women and 63 per cent of them cheated at one time or another during the period of the experiment. The proximity of the instructor to the class room was correlated with the amount of honesty and there was a positive relationship between honesty and mental ability and between honesty and success in the course of study. Fenton noted that four of five students who had attended high schools with an active honor system did not cheat in his experiment.

In teaching a summer school class of 31 teachers, Cowen found 9 of this group altered their grades to obtain a higher score.³² When nearly one-third of a group of teachers cheat and are discovered only by chance, one may reasonably assume that this too represents a conservative estimate.

In another type of experiment, Campbell systematically gave students scores which were too high or too low. Ninety-seven per cent of the group reported that grades had been marked too low but approximately two-thirds did not report those grades which were marked too high by six or more points on a 24 point examination.³³ Campbell also found a relationship between knowledge of the course content and the amount of cheating. None of the students who received A's in the course cheated and from 62 per cent to 77 per cent of students receiving other grades cheated to some extent.

³² P. A. Cowen, "Professional Spirit?," *School and Society*, Vol. 26, pp. 108-109, 1927.

³³ William Giles Campbell, "Student Honesty as Revealed by Reporting Teacher's Errors in Grading," *School and Society*, Vol. 33, pp. 97-100, 1931.

Lyman and Hillbrand have discussed some of the penalties administered in colleges for the offense of cheating in examinations.⁸⁴ The range of penalties was that usually found in the literature. That is, a student may be warned; he may receive unqualified expulsion; he may receive almost any intermediate penalty. The usual penalties are loss of credit for the course, requiring extra credits for graduation, repeating the course, repeating the examination, or suspension. Second offenders usually receive penalties of suspension or expulsion. These writers and others discuss ways of combating dishonesty. The usual suggestions are to build school spirit, to discuss dishonesty with classes, to proctor efficiently, and to educate the faculty to its responsibility in the prevention of cheating.

The honor system has been extolled as a solution to many of these ills. Wahlquist, however, has found that the honor system operates only under certain restricted conditions.⁸⁵ This investigator made an extensive study of conditions in state universities, state colleges, private colleges, and municipal schools in all parts of the country. In state universities, state colleges, and private colleges, the honor system seemed to be of little effectiveness. A larger number of state universities had dropped the honor system than had retained it. Only 5 were using it completely at the time of this investigation; 7 were using it partially; and 22 had abandoned or never had the honor system. Among the state colleges, nine did not use the honor system, one used it, and one partially used it. Four of the nine colleges not using the system had tried and abandoned it. Twenty-one of thirty-four private colleges were not currently using the honor system. Wahlquist found in general that 30 per cent of the private schools and 13 per cent of the public institutions used an honor system. Twenty-nine per cent had abandoned it, 20 per cent had not. Fourteen per cent were using it in one or more divisions but not in the entire institution. In almost every case where a college or university had

⁸⁴ R. L. Lyman, "The Problem of Student Honor in Colleges and Universities," *School Review*, Vol. 35, pp. 253-271, 1927.

E. K. Hillbrand, "Cheating in College," *School and Society*, Vol. 26, pp. 748-750, 1927.

⁸⁵ John T. Wahlquist, "The Honor System in American Colleges and Universities," *School and Society*, Vol. 37, pp. 757-760, 1933.

attempted to use the honor system and had later dropped it, the explanation given was "lack of student cooperation." Many schools reported that the system had been dropped specifically at the request of students. Wahlquist concluded that the honor system works best in "small, compact, professional schools, or in private colleges where it has the support of tradition." The problem of introducing the honor system into large or heterogeneous colleges and universities seems perhaps to be insurmountable.

Louise Price has described the honor system at Stanford University and elaborated the conditions under which it developed. She reports that it has succeeded so well that the privilege of controlling examinations has been granted to students since 1921.⁸⁶ On the other hand, Campbell in 1935 reported contrary results from the University of Texas in one of the few experimental studies of the relative effect of an honor system in contrast with a proctor system of controlling cheating in examinations.⁸⁷ In the spring of 1928 an experimental study was made of students enrolled in education, history, and psychology classes, all operating under the honor system of examining. In 1931 the experiment was repeated in similar classes. In the interim the student body of the university had voted to abolish the honor system and substitute a proctor system of examining. In general there is a substantial amount of identified cheating under both conditions, namely, honor systems and proctoring. But the incidence in the latter case was significantly higher. For example, in the examinations the percentage of cheaters for classes operating under the honor system was 14 per cent while the corresponding percentage for the proctoring system was 38 per cent, the difference being statistically reliable.⁸⁸ Similar differences were found under other experimental situations using different testing techniques.

⁸⁶ Louise Price, *Creative Group Work on the Campus*, Teachers College Contributions to Education No. 830, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1941.

⁸⁷ William Giles Campbell, *A Comparative Investigation of the Behavior of Students Under an Honor System and a Proctor System in the Same University*, Southern California Education Monographs, No. 6, University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, 1935.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Several writers have discussed methods of detecting cheating in examinations. Among them, Bird's method may be taken as an example.³⁹ Through experimentation, Bird developed tables of the identity of wrong answers among papers in general. To investigate cheating, the instructor compares the papers of the two suspects to determine whether the identity of wrong answers is greater for this pair or for either of these papers compared with papers of other students selected at random, who were assigned approximately the same letter grade. He also discussed the interpretation of such evidence to the student in order to prevent strong denials which may lead to a battle of wits. Certainly in cases where extensive cheating has occurred, this method will be found to be a very useful one.

In the vast amount of literature on the subject of cheating, of which the foregoing are but a few typical examples, the honor system emerges as the best method of preventing cheating *if the honor system can be made to work*. Where the honor system is not workable, the prevention and control of cheating seems to resolve itself into a problem to be studied intensively by the faculty of each college or university. The use of comparable, alternate forms of objective examinations, the accumulation of a large reservoir of questions (numbering perhaps in the thousands) which can be drawn upon each term for new forms of the examinations, efficient proctoring, and constructive interest on the part of the faculty, serve as beginning steps in attacking this problem. The treatment of students who cheat is similar to that described in this volume for other student disciplinary cases. As in every case, the treatment should be individualized to fit the offender.

SUMMARY

This chapter describes the types of behavior problems studied by the authors for the past several years. Various behavior incidents were analyzed and classified in terms of six categories and other incidents were mentioned under a miscellaneous category. This classification scheme is only a first approximation of accurate

³⁹ Charles Bird, "An Improved Method of Detecting Cheating in Objective Examinations," *Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 19, pp. 341-348, 1929.

description. More precise analyses are needed to derive a scheme which groups similar and related behavior in homogeneous categories. Research on extensive case histories is needed, but in most institutions waits upon the collections of such case histories

In the next chapter we give data on the incidence of occurrence of misbehavior classified by means of the categories described in the present chapter.

CHAPTER V

Classification of Disciplinary Situations and Charges

In the previous chapter we described and illustrated the various types of situations usually subsumed under student discipline. A range and variety of behavior and situations are included, most of which are of a minor character as judged by generally accepted ethical concepts and by means of any legal classification of crimes, misdemeanors, and other social offenses. But mere verbal descriptions of the types of disciplinary situations is not sufficient for the reader to grasp the significance of the topic under discussion. Rather must verbal descriptions be followed by quantitative analysis of the frequency of occurrence of different types of disciplinary situations and offenses. In other words, a complete understanding of the disciplinary phase of college life is not forthcoming until one understands that not only do students falsify records, but also such an offense occurs frequently or only occasionally in a given student population in any one school year. In like manner, one cannot judge accurately the character of the ethics of college students *in general*, nor the effectiveness of social controls on students *in general* in a college environment, if one generalizes solely from the infrequent but boldly headlined newspaper story of a serious sex misconduct. In describing student life in the medieval universities, Haskins makes a similar point

with regard to hasty and sweeping generalizations made on the basis of atypical or nonrepresentative and isolated single cases.¹

"The life of the virtuous student," says Dean Rashdall, "has no annals," and in all ages he has been less conspicuous than his more dashing fellows. . . . The studious lad of today never breaks into the headlines as such, and no one has seen fit to produce a play or a film "featuring the good student."

Elsewhere Haskins repeats his point.²

The chroniclers, too, sometimes interrupt their narrative of the affairs of kings and princes to tell of students and then doings, although their attention, like that of their modern successors, the newspapers, is apt to be caught by outbreaks of student lawlessness rather than by the wholesome routine of academic life

Haskins further illustrates this point and warns us against generalization in the interpretation of descriptions of 13th century student life in the University of Paris as described in the sermons of Paris preachers. While it is true that an understanding of the gross misbehavior of Paris students would not be one bit diminished by a high frequency of occurrence, yet if one could arm oneself with a knowledge of *how many* students "committed more sins at Christmas time than during all the rest of the year,"³ then one could determine the accuracy of such sweeping generalizations. The lack of accurate quantitative information is the source of much confusion and more criticism with respect to the public's understanding and support of colleges and universities. Quantification of the disciplinary aspect of student life would add meaningful context and perspective to this but little understood phase of college life.

In this chapter we shall illustrate the quantitative phase of discipline in terms of statistics collected from our own institution, the University of Minnesota. As far as we are able to learn by exhaustive analysis and search of records and professional litera-

¹ Charles H. Haskins, *The Rise of Universities*, pp. 120-123, Peter Smith, New York, 1940.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

³ Charles H. Haskins, *Studies in Medieval Culture*, p. 69, Oxford University Press, New York, 1929.

ture, no other institution, ancient, modern, or contemporary, has published extensive statistics of this type. In fact, only the most rudimentary and fragmentary of quantitative information is available in any form, published or nonpublished. One almost concludes that records of disciplinary situations are casually kept and perhaps not kept at all in most institutions. Since 1941 rather careful statistics on discipline have been kept as a matter of record, as has been true of every other phase of personnel program at the University of Minnesota. These statistics were collected to provide: (1) a more intelligent and accurate understanding of the dimensions of student behavior; (2) data for exhaustive research on the characteristics of students involved in disciplinary situations, (3) data for long-term evaluations and follow-up studies to determine the effectiveness of the disciplinary counseling.

THE DESIRABLE INCOMPLETENESS OF DISCIPLINARY STATISTICS

One additional point needs emphasis. In any social institution, responsibility for carrying out specified functions must, of necessity, be decentralized. For example, no one personnel officer can possibly perform all personnel functions in every detailed respect. With the necessary decentralization of functioning, there must go responsibility for making judgments about what problems and matters need be referred to a higher, or coordinate, level of responsibility for review and decision. In the field of student discipline, the application of these administrative principles leads us to the conclusion that administrators in the separate units of the institution, teachers in the separate departments, personnel workers in the specialized offices and departments, and individual students—all must exercise good judgment in determining what disciplinary situations should be dealt with on a personal and confidential basis and which ones should be reported to a central personnel office. This principle of administration of discipline may lead to some indifference and carelessness on the part of some persons in positions of responsibility and to overzealous witch-hunting on the part of others. Despite these possible excesses, the principle of decentralized functioning is sound and in line with the fundamental philosophy of personnel work. If the university is to be effective in its stimulation of students' development, then

there must be a corresponding development in understanding and effective participation on the part of *all* staff members in the total personnel program.

Equally pertinent is the fact that many kinds of student behavior are best regulated by other students, provided of course that students accept responsibility for their own affairs, and further provided that severe, serious, and complex situations are referred by students to the proper official or committee. With these reservations, it is a wise personnel officer who works diligently to enlist the aid of student residential groups (dormitory, sorority, fraternity, cooperative, etc.) to assume responsibility for maintaining desirable behavior of individual members.

All of these factors, and many others not mentioned, produce a situation quite desirable from a broad educational point of view, in which some, possibly many, disciplinary situations are never reported to the central personnel office. It is a healthy state of societal affairs if such failure to report arises from sincere, but not overzealous, assumption of self-responsibility for behavior. That the important statistical reports must of necessity be labeled "cases reported to the central personnel office" is of no importance. It is a healthy, effective, student society that is to be achieved, rather than *complete* statistics on the incidence of all instances of misbehavior. The reader should interpret the statistics of this chapter, and indeed the procedures and points of view of the entire book, in terms of the major educational objective of disciplinary counseling—namely, the learning of self-regulation of behavior.

RECORDS AND CATEGORIES

An understanding of the quantitative characteristics of discipline is possible only if there is a clear understanding and acceptance of well-defined categories. For example, much confusion arises in discussing discipline because there is no standard agreement as to whether the term "disciplinary case" refers to a single individual or to a situation in which more than one individual may be involved, such as a theft in which three or four students participate. Moreover, the question arises as to whether a student who is charged with two different offenses at two different

times within the same school year, or from one school year to the next, should be classified one or more times. These and many other problems arose to perplex the authors as they began the problem of quantifying certain dimensions of the problem.

Without making an exhaustive and labored definition, we may accept the following general statement for the purpose of this discussion. Four basic definitions would seem to be the minimum necessary for an understanding of the problem.

1. A disciplinary *situation* arises when one or more students commit, or are alleged to have committed, behavior which is alleged to be, or actually is, in violation of good taste, generally accepted mores, and ethical codes, or in violation of specific and detailed regulations established by the institution.

2. A disciplinary *charge* is an accusation, or an allegation, that a student or students, known or as yet unknown, has committed an offense or has participated in a disciplinary situation.

3. A disciplinary *case* may be defined as an individual student who is charged with having participated in a disciplinary situation.

4. Disciplinary *action* involves the decision of a committee of faculty or students, or an individual official, that a student charged with participation in a disciplinary situation is guilty and should be denied privileges or should take such positive steps as may be prescribed to bring about his rehabilitation and readjustment, sometimes involving severance of his relationships with the institution for a specified period of time. In this fourth category, the authors will include disciplinary counseling which takes the form of rehabilitation. In some discussions, the unfortunate term "punishment" has been used to cover certain phases of this fourth category.

These categories may be better understood in terms of the following example. In the academic school year 1946-1947 in the University of Minnesota, a total of 32,448 individual students were enrolled at some time during the school year. During this period, a total of 312 disciplinary situations were brought to the attention of the officials in the office of the dean of students. A total of 378 disciplinary charges were made against 358 individual students. These basic figures are analyzed in the following tables to

illustrate the nature of discipline in terms of types of problems and frequency of occurrence, and the kinds of students who find themselves charged with disciplinary behavior.

DISCIPLINARY SITUATIONS AND CHARGES

Table 1 below gives the figures for the occurrence of the 312 disciplinary situations in terms of the types of misconduct and misbehavior which have been described in the previous chapter.

TABLE 1 DISCIPLINARY SITUATIONS AND CHARGES FOR 358 STUDENTS, 1946-1947

Category type	Disciplinary situations	Charges against individuals
Financial irregularity	49	53
Minor misconduct	80	127
Disorderly conduct	29	38
Sex misconduct	21	27
Theft and burglary	25	26
Misuse of privileges	98	97
Miscellaneous	10	10
Totals	312	378

For example, 49 disciplinary situations occurred involving financial irregularities.⁴ It should be noted that only 21 cases occurred which were classified as sex misconduct. The occurrence of such overt gross misbehaviors is very infrequent. In the same table, the analysis and breakdown of 378 charges are shown. In every case except one, misuse of privileges, the number of charges in each category is greater than the number of situations. This means that, (1) more than one individual student was involved in some of these disciplinary situations; or (2) the same individual student was charged with more than one offense occurring at different times during the indicated school year.

CLASSIFICATION OF CHARGES BY MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS

The question may arise whether men or women are charged more frequently with disciplinary offenses and participation in

⁴ The reader is referred to the indicated section in Chap. IV for examples of the types of situations classified in each category of Table 1 and of tables in this chapter.

disciplinary situations, both with respect to the total picture and also in regard to types of disciplinary situations. Table 2 gives the answer to this question in terms of the University of Minnesota for the school year 1946-1947. Within this school year a total of 23,636 men and 8,812 women were enrolled in the institution. That is, women constituted 27.1 per cent of the total enrollment on a ratio of less than four men to each woman student. In Table 2 we see that, of the 378 total disciplinary charges made

TABLE 2 SEX DIFFERENCES IN DISCIPLINARY CHARGES, 1946-1947*

Category type	Men		Women		Totals
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Financial irregularity	34	64.15	19	35.85	53
Misconduct	81	63.78	46	36.22	127
Disorderly conduct	33	86.84	5	13.16	38
Sex misconduct	18	66.67	9	33.33	27
Theft and burglary	20	76.92	6	23.08	26
Misuse of privileges	83	85.57	14	14.43	97
Miscellaneous	8	80.00	2	20.00	10
Totals	277	73.28	101	26.72	378

* A total of 378 disciplinary charges were made in 1946-1947 against 358 students (262 men and 96 women)

against the 358 students involved in disciplinary situations, only 101 charges, or 26.7 per cent, were against women. In proportion to the frequency of men and women in the total student population, the distribution of types of charges does not differ materially as classified by men and women. This generalization is not true for disorderly conduct, theft and burglary, misuse of privileges, and miscellaneous. Since no data are available for comparison with other universities, we cannot say whether the situation as reflected by these statistics is in line with reasonable expectation. No one knows whether one should expect misbehavior to occur in proportion to the number of men and women in the college population. Further experience and analysis are needed to derive or evolve a "social norm" by means of which one can interpret such information. It is to be hoped that other institutions will publish comparable data. But it should be said, and it will be repeated elsewhere, that the frequency of occurrence of disci-

plinary situations, as reported to the dean's office, is so low as to provide grounds for concluding that *by far, most college adolescents behave in acceptable and ethical manner*—occasional bold-face newspaper headlines to the contrary!

CLASSIFICATION OF CHARGES BY COLLEGE AND CLASS

The question may well be raised as to what types of students are most frequently involved in disciplinary situations. For example, are freshmen in the Engineering School more frequently involved than are freshmen in the Arts College? Are women in Home Economics more frequently involved than are women in the College of Education? Are undergraduate students more frequently involved, in proportion to their share of the total population, than are graduate students? Even though no definitive answer can, as yet, be given, these and other questions may well be asked in order that eventually we may get a clearer understanding of the total picture of college discipline. Table 3 below gives the basic data analyzing and classifying the 378 disciplinary charges made in the year 1946-1947 in the University of Minnesota. These disciplinary charges are classified by colleges within the University, by school year, that is, freshman, and sophomore, etc., and also by men and women within college and class.

As might be expected in terms of their proportions in the total student body, freshmen and sophomores are represented more frequently in the discipline situation than are upperclassmen. Probably other factors also operate to cause this phenomenon, such as the early elimination of underclassmen by self-initiated action or by institutional decision. Moreover, the transitional nature of some disciplinary situations in respect to the learning of new mores and standards of conduct as students shift from home and community to an urban university involving self-responsibility and self-regulation of behavior may be operative in colleges. But the sizable number of seniors and especially the thirty-one graduate students indicate that misbehavior is not inevitably prevented merely by means of survival in the university and the assumed acquiring of intellectual maturity! But, it must be noted that the undergraduate colleges (Science, Literature and Arts, General; Agriculture, Forestry and Home Economics; Institute of Technol-

TABLE 3. CLASSIFICATION OF CHARGES BY COLLEGE AND CLASS

College	Freshman			Sophomore			Junior			Senior			Graduate			Unclassified and Adult			Extension			Totals
	M		T	M		T	M		T	M		T	M		T	M		T	M		T	
Agriculture, Forestry, and Home Economics		1	1		3	3		2	2		2	2		2	2							8
Business	1		1	1	3	1	6		6	5	2	7				1		1				16
Dentistry	2		2	1		1	1		1	4		4										8
Education	2	1	3		1	1	2	3	5	2		2				1	2	3				14
General	13	3	16	12	1	13																29
Graduate														21	10	31						31
Institute of Technology	14		14	16		16	9		9	8		8				1		1				48
Law	11		11	1		1	1		1	2		2										15
Medical Technology																						2
Medicine							1		1	6		6										7
Nursing		1	1		1	1		8	8		5	5										15
Pharmacy																		1				2
Science, Literature, and Arts	31	11	42	45	24	69	10	5	15	13	5	17				1	6	2	8			151
University College				1		1	2		2	3	1	4										7
Unclassified and Adult																19	5	24		1		24
Extension																					1	1
Totals	74	17	91	77	30	107	33	18	51	42	17	59	21	10	31	29	9	38	1	1	1	378

ogy) contribute most to the totality of disciplinary charges. The professional colleges and the graduate school contribute substantially less. Further analysis of types of charges by college and class will be made and published elsewhere.

RECIDIVISM AMONG STUDENTS

The question may be asked, as in juvenile delinquency, whether a few individual students are charged with many disciplinary of-

TABLE 4 RECURRENCE OF TYPES OF CHARGES FOR THE YEAR 1946-1947 INVOLVING 358 STUDENTS

Category type	Total number of charges	Single charges against students		More than one charge against individual student	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Financial irregularity	53	43	81 13	10	18 87
Misconduct	127	112	88 18	15	11 82
Disorderly conduct	38	33	86 84	5	13 16
Sex misconduct	27	23	85 18	4	14 82
Theft and burglary	26	24	92 31	2	7 69
Misuse of privileges	97	95	97 94	2	2 06
Miscellaneous	10	6	60 00	4	40 00
Totals	378	336		42	

enses; that is, whether there is much occurrence of recidivism. Table 4 gives an analysis of disciplinary charges for the year 1946-1947 at the University of Minnesota, classified by types of charges. There were a total of 378 disciplinary charges, of which 336 were against students involved in no other disciplinary situations in the indicated year or in previous years, according to the records in the central personnel office. Of the total of 378 charges, 42, or approximately 11 per cent, involved more than one charge against individual students, either within the current school year or during previous years. In other words, a total of 358 individual students (262 men and 96 women) were charged with

378 disciplinary offenses. Of these students, 336 (249 men and 87 women) had *only one charge* made against them during this year or during previous years. In addition to the 336, another 22 students (13 men and 9 women), charged this year with new offenses, had charges made against them in years previous to 1946-1947. Of these same 22 students, 2 (one man and one woman) accumulated a third charge against themselves during the current

TABLE 5. INCIDENCE OF REPORTED INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINARY CASES

School year	Total number of students enrolled*	Total number of students involved in disciplinary situations	Per cent of total enrollment
1941-42	15,669	198	1.26
1942-43	13,870	152	1.09
1943-44	9,871	200	2.02
1944-45	10,896	175	1.60
1945-46	22,703	350	1.54
1946-47	32,448	358	1.60

*The total number of individuals reported by the registrar as enrolled at some time during the regular (3 quarters) school year, exclusive of extension and summer school, and including the graduate school

school year. An additional 12 students (9 men and 3 women) were charged with more than one offense during the current year, the 12 students accumulating a total of 20 charges. Table 4 shows that, for the most part, the multiple charges or recidivism involved financial irregularities or general misconduct. But some small amount of recidivism seems to occur with respect to all types of disciplinary situations. But only 34 (22 plus 12 as noted above but not shown in Table 4) individual students, or 9.4 per cent, of 358 involved in discipline are classifiable as recidivists.

INCIDENCE OF DISCIPLINARY CASES

Incidental references have been made in previous sections of this chapter to the frequency of occurrence of disciplinary cases in the total student population. Table 5 gives the data for an analysis of this problem. For the year 1941-1942 through the year 1946-1947 the total number of students reported to the cen-

tral personnel office as charged with participation in disciplinary situations is related to the total student enrollment. This analysis indicates quite strikingly that the frequency of occurrence of reported disciplinary behavior is *very low—only between one per cent and two per cent of the total number of enrolled students!* The point need not be elaborated, but it is doubtful if any other type of community in American life, when analyzed in this manner, would reveal such a low incidence of reported undesirable behavior.

TRENDS IN DISCIPLINARY CHARGES

A final basic quantitative description of disciplinary situations and charges is given in Table 6 below. In previous tables we have used the academic year 1946–1947 for illustrative purposes of our analysis of discipline. Now we need to answer the question, is the year 1946–1947 at the University of Minnesota representative of previous years with respect to the frequency of occurrence and the distribution among various categories of disciplinary charges and situations? The answer is found in Table 6. This table shows for the period of 1941 to 1947, inclusive, the analysis of disciplinary charges by types. It should be kept in mind that these figures are for *charges* and not for individual students. For example, in 1946–1947, a total of 378 charges were made against 358 students (not given in this table). In interpreting the table, it should be kept in mind that in all social statistics involving human adjustments some fluctuations and variations are to be expected by the operation of chance factors. The causes of these so-called normal fluctuations are little understood, for the most part, although some situations may some day be clarified by an analysis of basic social data.

In interpreting Table 6, it is regretted that comparable statistics are not available for years prior to 1941. The reader should remember that the first six months of the year 1941–1942 were prewar but unfortunately prewar statistics of previous years are not available in this University for comparisons. Long-term statistics of this type for basic analysis of trends in student behavior and the related changes in social mores and standards are not available because college officials fail to keep and publish basic records.

TABLE 6 DISCIPLINARY CHARGES*

Category type	1941-1942		1942-1943		1943-1944		1944-1945		1945-1946		1946-1947		Totals	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Financial irregularity	25	12.76	24	14.45	21	9.81	24	13.34	60	17.70	53	14.03	207	14.05
Minor misconduct	38	19.39	57	34.34	117	54.67	70	38.88	145	42.77	127	33.60	554	37.61
Disorderly conduct	30	15.30	31	18.67	23	10.75	47	26.12	42	12.39	38	10.05	211	14.33
Sex misconduct ..	24	12.25	14	8.44	14	6.55	7	3.88	18	5.31	27	7.14	104	7.06
Theft and burglary	35	17.85	19	11.45	22	10.28	18	10.00	39	11.51	26	6.88	159	10.79
Misuse of privileges	16	8.17	2	1.20	6	2.80	4	2.23	21	6.19	97	25.66	146	9.91
Miscellaneous	28	14.28	19	11.45	11	5.14	10	5.55	14	4.13	10	2.64	92	6.25
Totals	196	100.00	166	100.00	214	100.00	180	100.00	339	100.00	378	100.00	1473	100.00

* The figures are for charges and not for individual students, e.g. in 1946-1947, a total of 378 charges were made against 358 students

Perhaps the cause of these gaps in our information is to be found in the fear of misinterpretation by a critical public. If so, then in rebuttal we need but remind ourselves once more that the ostrich-like method of blinding ourselves to the facts of student discipline does not eliminate those facts. Rather does such self-blinding permit critics and partisans, as well as unfriendly politicians and unscrupulous journalists, to paint an exaggerated and distorted picture of the *real* facts of student mores and morals. As indicated previously by Haskins and Rashdall, this type of distortion has been made for centuries past. It is to be hoped that the twentieth century will bring an accelerated trend of application of personnel and scientific methodologies to this little understood phase of student life.

To return to an interpretation of Table 6, except for the category known as financial irregularities, there appear to be only very minor fluctuations from year to year, and in each year the proportionate number of cases classified in this one category is fairly small. With respect to minor misconduct, there are two marked fluctuations, namely, for the year 1941-1942 and for the year 1943-1944, the latter being the second school year of the war. In general, this category accounts for approximately one-third of the total charges.

In cases of the category disorderly conduct, the fluctuations are fairly regular except for the year 1944-1945. Personal observations would seem to ascribe a part of this fluctuation, the high number of cases in this one year, to the increasing tension between householders and students in private rooming houses. The category sex misconduct accounts for a very small percentage of the total charges except for the year 1941-1942, in which 12 students were involved in a very serious and complicated sex affair. The category theft and burglary is fairly constant following the first year. In the case of misused privileges, there is a marked increase in 1946-1947, following a fairly regular occurrence. This last year the cause is found in the increasing pressure with respect to the securing of football tickets in a stadium which has not expanded proportionately to the tremendous increase in the student population.

SUMMARY

In this chapter certain quantitative phases of disciplinary behavior were presented in terms of statistics on incidence of occurrence. Types of misbehavior were described quantitatively by frequency of occurrence, by individual or multiple student participants in the same incidents, by comparison of participation by men and women students, by classification of student offenders as to class and college, by "repeaters" or recidivism, by percentage of the total student enrollment, and finally in terms of trends in frequency of occurrence for a six-year period. Statistics on the types of action taken concerning disciplinary charges are presented in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER VI

Methods of Social and Psychological Investigation

The disciplinary process begins with a complaint and ends with an action. Between these points careful methods of investigation must be followed in order to assure that the student will derive the maximum possible learning from the situation. The nature of the disciplinary process determines the four areas which the counselor investigates. (1) the complaint, (2) the present status of the student, (3) his potentialities, and (4) the determination of procedures and steps necessary to his rehabilitation.

During the preliminary stages, the counselor decides what social and psychological data are necessary to make a case study of the offender and to determine how to achieve rehabilitation. To secure such information he must rely largely upon personnel and other institutional records. In those colleges which maintain detailed student records, the work of the disciplinary counselor will be greatly facilitated.

The collection of appropriate data permits the counselor to prepare a case history of the student. The counselor notes well that Allport sees great value in the case study because it synthesizes the life forces which are important in the individual's personal and social adjustments.¹ The use of the case study method will give

¹ Gordon Allport, *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation*, p. 390, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1937.

direction to the counselor's investigation of the four areas mentioned.

INVESTIGATION OF THE COMPLAINT

Ordinarily a disciplinary case begins with the report of a specific charge against a student. Sometimes, as in the case of thefts, the offender's identity may not be known. The first step on the part of the counselor is, therefore, to find out who makes the complaint and to determine whether that individual is a reliable source of information. After some experience and orientation in his work, the counselor will become acquainted with those faculty members, students, or householders who tend to exaggerate the facts of a dispute or who tend to make unjustified charges. After any individual has once made a few unverified allegations the counselor's attitude will be modified critically toward future complaints coming from such a person.

After the accuracy of the complainant has been determined, the investigator needs to know whether the charge, as elaborated, provides accurate information and sufficient details to give the counselor some insight into the nature of the disciplinary situation. Richmond has emphasized the fact that in social investigation the reliability of evidence upon which decisions and judgments will be made should be scrutinized to no less a degree than that which is presented in a court of law. She adds, however, that knowledge of legal rules and admissibility of evidence is not necessary to the social investigator who can and should review facts of slight probative value.² These incidental side lights and comments may legitimately be used as part of the complaint, provided they are accurate and detailed and not offhand, irrelevant additions to the essential facts.

The peripheral aspects of the charge may be tested in several ways. For example, questions may be asked to clarify whether the student has made such an alleged statement and in what context. Some of the details may not be verifiable at the time of the first interview, but later they may be analyzed to determine whether they are congruent with the personality of the student.

² Mary E. Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, p. 39, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1917.

In some cases, unless the student himself verifies the details of the charge, the accuracy of many items of information may never be known.

The Complainant

The individual charging misbehavior should be questioned to determine his interests in making the charge. Though many people say they want to see justice done or the student helped in some way, it has been found that a few complainants are often somewhat less idealistic in making their charges.

Again, knowledge of the person who makes the complaint assumes importance in analyzing his motivation. Some individuals who criticize student conduct have a genuine social welfare interest in students and will actively assist in any way they can to help a particular student adjust more satisfactorily. Householders, the most frequent single group making complaints about students, are sometimes amazingly valuable in helping a student through a personal stress period. For example, they may loan money to students in financial distress, they may postpone rental payments until the student finds it convenient to pay, or in some instances they may provide the student with free rent or meals. On the other hand, other householders are motivated by a desire for commercial gain and complain about the student's failure to pay his rent even though he may have promised to pay within a short period of time.

Those complainants who do not understand or sympathize with the curiosity, growing awareness of social and economic conditions, and youthful exuberance of students may become involved with them in petty arguments about social, religious, political, or ethical beliefs, and on the basis of disagreements in these tenets may provoke arguments or disputes which lead to unpleasant living conditions for both individuals. Sometimes such persons are motivated by the desire to reform adolescent students of the new generation or to convert students to some particular ethical or religious belief. Such reformers make life miserable for those who have sufficient initiative to resist the onslaught. It is usually easy to identify those complainants who have an ax to grind as com-

pared to those who have a legitimate grievance. Other situational factors should be considered, as illustrated by the widespread general state of tension existing in both students and householders during the war.

Reports of misbehavior from off-campus sources not closely related with university life must be evaluated in terms of the complainant's reputation in the community. Complaints from police or business firms will almost always be found to have a legitimate basis. Occasionally reports are received from cranks of various kinds who may have a dislike for the institution for one reason or another, or who accidentally include the college in their frame of reference. Such cranks can usually be identified by the type of letters which they write or by the nature of the charges which are made.

The Nature of the Charge

The nature of the complaint itself will give the counselor orientation to the disciplinary situation. Whether it is vague and generalized or highly specific will provide him with a point of departure. Since all complaints must be investigated, the counselor needs specificity in order to facilitate his progress. For example, reports about sex misconduct are frequently made in such generalized terms that the counselor does not know whether his informant is objecting to specific instances of observed or alleged holding hands, necking, sexual intercourse, or to other behavior. Older people seem to be somewhat more embarrassed when discussing such matters, and the counselor must keep in mind the cultural pattern of the complainant's generation. Individual differences in people with regard to their outlook upon such matters as drinking, sex misconduct, gambling, and swearing are rather great, and some persons may object to alleged misconduct with emotionally loaded terms which may not be truly descriptive of the behavior itself. Parents have often objected to methods of exhibiting affection to which their children have become negatively adapted. If only for the sake of penetrating insight into the attitudes of the complainant, it is essential that specific details be secured about the nature of the offense.

Urgency of Investigation

There are several stages of urgency which the counselor must recognize when an offense has been called to his attention. The commission of a serious offense by a student such as, for example, theft or sex misconduct, calls for prompt investigation into the situation. The circumstances surrounding the misbehavior may be such that the morale of other students is greatly affected and in need of restoration without too much delay.

On the other hand, a minor misbehavior may be sidetracked if necessary when matters of serious import are demanding immediate attention. Borderline cases frequently involve students needing counseling about less urgent aspects of social, ethical, and moral development, and unless there are serious concomitant personality maladjustments, these borderline cases should be given a lower priority than serious offenses with respect to immediacy of investigation.

Occasionally disciplinary situations arise which are so urgent that they demand immediate attention. When such an emergency occurs, it is essential that the counselor begin work on the case at once. Occasionally it has been necessary to terminate half-finished interviews in order to protect the general welfare of the student body or the community against an apparent menace. The following case illustrates this point:

A girl who had been receiving obscene letters became alarmed when the writer of the letters stated that he wished to meet her and would get in touch with her at her home, her classroom, or her post-office box. When the girl reported the incident to the disciplinary counselor the letters had taken on overtones of impatience and of veiled threats. An intensive man hunt ensued and the individual was apprehended toward the close of the school day. Because of the nature of his statements and of the implications which had been made in the letters, it was judged that the student body needed protection against the possible viciousness of the man's character. Since the university authorities were in no position to keep an eye on him overnight, he was turned over to the police, who held him without charge. The following morning he was placed under observation in the university hospital in order to secure a psychiatric evaluation of him.

When such threatening incidents occur, one must decide whether the potential menace is such that the comfort of the individual must be sacrificed temporarily by placing him in jail or in a locked unit of a hospital. If such a decision is made to retain the student forcibly, the offender should not be allowed to languish in restraint. At the first opportunity he should be examined by appropriately qualified personnel to the end that his freedom may be restored as soon as is possible in terms of the protection of the student body at large or the local community. It is probable that such an instance may arise not more often than once a year, but, when the nature of the complaint so indicates, emergency action may have to be taken before exhaustive personnel information can be secured about the student. The fact of the occurrence of menacing deviate behavior is sufficient justification for taking extraordinary precautionary measures.

Openmindedness in Investigations

When the details and the accuracy of the charge have been established, the counselor must avoid being biased or prejudiced toward the student, especially during the investigation. Hans Gross saw this clearly before extensive experimental work had been done on the subject of bias of witnesses or on the convenience of distortion of memory. As was stated previously in Chap. III, Gross contends that:³

The case must be taken up from the start with an open mind. The complaint or information received by the Investigating Officer ought to have no more value in his eyes than his statement, "It is said that such and such a crime has been committed at such and such a place."

It is no more desirable that the counselor become prejudiced against a student because a complaint has been made against him—and at this stage the guilt of the student has not been determined—than it is for counselors in other than disciplinary settings to form dislikes or other biases because of weaknesses the student may have shown. In a disciplinary situation, it is just as neces-

³ Hans Gross, *Criminal Investigation*, translated by John Adam and J. Collyer Adam, edited by Norman Kendall, 3d ed., p. 4, Sweet and Maxwell, Ltd., London, 1934.

sary for the counselor to accept the student *as he is* with all his strengths and weaknesses as it is to have openmindedness in dealing with students with educational, vocational, or personal adjustment problems.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE STUDENT

When the statement of the complaint has been clarified and elaborated accurately, and when some knowledge of the cause of the charge is secured, then the counselor begins to collect information about the student's problems and other adjustments. Occasionally it may be necessary to summon the student for an interview or for a meeting with the disciplinary committee before a complete investigation has been made. In the majority of cases, however, the counselor early sets machinery in motion which is designed to collect appropriate information about the student.

Residential Status

Usually the counselor may determine at once where the student lives—at home with his parents, in a dormitory, sorority, fraternity, rooming house, or place of employment. This datum has implications with respect to the securing of further data. The place of residence has differential meaning for students, since different types of residences provide varying kinds of social controls on individual behavior and are also sometimes related to characteristic kinds of student misconduct.

For example, experience indicates that many students living in rooming houses are likely to become the subject of complaints about such housing disputes as date of moving, rental, or the adequacy of facilities. In the University of Minnesota a student is expected to sign a contract for his room for a complete school quarter term. If a student wishes to move before the close of the term, he must secure the consent of the householder to terminate the contract, pay the balance of his quarterly rent, or find an acceptable replacement who will assume the contract obligation. Students who wish to move because they dislike the rooming house or the householder, because they have an opportunity to move into a fraternity, sorority, or dormitory, or because they have discovered a vacancy in another rooming house, do not always ful-

fill the stipulations for terminating their contract with the householder. In this sense rooming-house students are more likely to become involved in housing disputes.

Women students also living in rooming houses may violate regulations governing social privileges and hours and may thereby come into conflict with householders. Lack of uniformity among rooming houses concerning the hours privileges for women students and the irresponsible provision of house keys so that the householder need not remain available at night further complicate the disciplinary situation, because some students seek to move to those houses where less attention is paid to the observance of such regulations. Disciplinary situations also stem from the reluctance or inability of some householders to subscribe to the student personnel philosophy. Many of them consider the operation of a rooming house a business enterprise and, therefore, do little to secure the cooperation of students concerning regulations and policies because of the fear of losing customers.

In dormitories, where counseling services are provided, the counselors have little or no interest in the financial aspects of the situation and are more likely to be motivated to assist the student in his personal adjustment. In addition, student judiciary committees in dormitories meet with those students who commit minor infractions of rules and, through such self-government procedures, often bring social pressures to bear effectively upon the individual student.

Fraternities and sororities usually attempt to handle such problems by a group method of social control. Because of the need for group solidarity and status, fraternities and sororities are less likely to refer their problem cases to the disciplinary counselor than are judiciary committees in dormitories. As a result those students who are referred by their organizations may be further along the path of noncooperation, in that they have resisted a number of previous attempts at rehabilitation or punishment.

Students who do not live with their parents or in the residences surrounding the campus are perhaps more likely to get into difficulties but are also less likely to be identified. The fact that a student will reside in some place either away from the campus or not inspected and approved by the university is in itself informa-

tion of value to the disciplinary counselor. Frequently students who live in unapproved commercial rooming houses or in hotels indicate thereby certain personal stresses or maladjustments through their desire for anonymity or through lack of desire to associate with other students in normal and usual collegiate situations. This point is illustrated by the following case:

A woman operating a commercial rooming house in the loop reported that a woman student had been missing for several days. She said the girl worked as a waitress in a loop cafe. Interviews with other waitresses who worked in the cafe disclosed that the student had utilized her casual contacts with customers to make male acquaintances. She was said to be sexually promiscuous with these men, and her closest friend, a waitress, thought it more likely that the girl was pregnant than that she had run away to get married or to live with some man. The girl's parents were notified, and when they came to investigate the disappearance of their daughter, they discovered through letters which she had left in her room that their daughter in fact had been very promiscuous sexually. Although the landlady professed to have an interest in her tenants, she had both men and women roomers and seemed to take few, if any, precautions to supervise the comings and goings of her tenants and their friends.

Although chance factors may enter into the residential status of a student, additional positive or negative factors are usually present when a student lives off campus in an unapproved residence. The student who desires to live in a dormitory or to join a fraternity may be unsuccessful for many reasons, but he has the alternative of securing a room which has been approved by the university. If he does not elect this alternative, he may be ignorant of the university requirement that he live in an approved residence. But frequently he is conditioned previously by a cultural setting considerably at variance with that of the typical student and he is somewhat more likely to be an older person lacking the flexibility which is characteristic of the typical college youth. Not infrequently he has learned certain social and recreational habits which may be more satisfactorily pursued if he lives in anonymity or in an extremely permissive environment. In accordance with this orienting information the counselor may tentatively structure the personality of the student from knowledge about where he lives.

Status of Home and Related Factors

Pertinent information is sometimes derived from the location of the student's home. In most states and in many cities there is a rather extreme range of socioeconomic and cultural factors, part of which may have been influential in conditioning the student's attitudes and behavior. For example, much has been written about the home conditions and local environment of juvenile delinquents. But the counselor must be critical of such generalizations with respect to their applicability to the individual student case in disciplinary counseling. As more rigorous studies are made it appears that general factors such as the broken home are not necessarily predisposing to delinquency in every case. Nimkoff states that death and discord are the two chief factors in family disorganization. Yet there is not sufficient evidence for us to compare these factors with the ratio of death and discord in families which do *not* produce delinquent children.⁴ In like manner the counselor must guard against assuming unverified causality in the case of all delinquent students coming from broken homes, as the following quotation illustrates:⁵

A study in Chicago covering 7,278 boys with the threefold objective of establishing the incidence of broken homes among boys living in areas with different rates of delinquency, boys of different nationalities, and boys in different age groups, indicated that the rate of broken homes in the general population has probably been underestimated. Wide differences between the percentages of broken homes in the different schools were unrelated to rates of delinquency or the geographic distribution of the school in the city. The author points out, however, that while no very significant difference was found between the rate of broken homes in the series of delinquents studied and the control group, it is entirely possible that there might be very great differences between a group of boys who present personality problems and a group of school boys of the same age and nationality.

Again, national juvenile delinquent statistics for the year 1929 showed that 64 per cent of the children appearing in court were

⁴ M. F. Nimkoff, *The Family*, p. 421, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1934

⁵ White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *The Delinquent Child*, p. 351, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1932

living with both parents when referred to the court.⁶ Our point of caution with respect to the interpretation of home status is further buttressed by the fact that the Gluecks found only 15.2 per cent of the families investigated showed no known delinquency other than that of the member who was under study.⁷

Nonetheless, the counselor needs to determine in each case the possible or probable influence of home and neighborhood in shaping the attitudes of the individual student.⁸ Unlawful or immoral

⁶ Juvenile Court Statistics, 1929, based on information supplied by forty-two courts, Publication 207, 61 pages, Washington, D.C.

⁷ Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, *Five Hundred Criminal Careers*, p. 11, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1930.

See also, William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *A New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*, p. 28, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1936.

⁸ Sometimes family influences upon misbehavior, minor as well as major, originate in the pathology of one or more parents, as the following case illustrates.

The housing department, while making its routine annual statistical analysis of students' residences, learned that a mature student had falsified her address. This type of behavior, falsification of personal data, is always investigated, even though it often proves to be of no cosmic consequence. Upon further inquiry the girl readily revealed a long story of attempts to sever relationships with her mother and family. She had hoped that two younger brothers would assume full responsibility for the aged mother who persisted in writing to the daughter, demanding financial support. Currently and for the previous five years, the daughter has fully supported herself with a variety of part-time and full-time jobs.

The girl's life story, according to her account, was crammed full of family crises, all of which seemed to be related to her mother's early unsuccessful attempts to achieve success in opera. The first husband interfered with the wife's career, the wife then turning to the daughter for an outlet of her musical impulses and desires. Then followed a long life of repressive and restrictive musical activities and limited social and personal development for the daughter. A broken wrist closed music as a career, but the mother then chose law for the daughter, perhaps because the father and first husband was an unsuccessful lawyer. But the daughter had had enough domination and turned from the family to newly-found friends for a broadening of her social relationships. But the brothers and the mother continued to demand financial assistance from her. The daughter persisted in her rejection of the family. But the emotional strain of her rejection was such as to indicate the desirability of psychiatric assistance and she agreed to see the university psychiatrist for counseling.

conduct, disregard of social responsibilities, and the usual mores of society, participation in street gangs and other precollege experiences are found more frequently associated with delinquents than with nondelinquents. Most urban social workers would readily predict that students who attend certain grade schools or high schools are much more likely to come to the attention of juvenile courts and social agencies than those students from other grade and high schools.

The problem becomes more involved if the college student has been living in a small community in which cultural mores differ markedly from those of the state at large or from those prevailing in the university. Whole communities are known to have atypical sets of mores which make subsequent adjustment difficult for any member of those communities moving residence to other and different communities. There are communities where people do not bathe; there are communities where a man must watch his own cattle at all times lest someone steal them, and in turn watches for any absence of his neighbors so that he may help himself to their property. In such communities little effort is made to apprehend thieves or to prevent such thefts except to grumble because the townsfolk consider it a joke that someone was so careless. If the counselor is aware of such local conditions, certain hypotheses about the student's capacity to adjust to the university may serve as the starting point of investigation.

In similar manner, the counselor may glean some tentative and preliminary understanding about the student whose family origin may be called wealthy. Not infrequently the children of wealthy parents are trained to believe they are deserving of special privileges and are thereby exempt from certain social responsibilities and restrictions. Furthermore, such children often are indulged to such an extent that the usual pleasurable experiences of youth hold no interest for them, and they may experiment with bizarre conduct which is unacceptable to the institution and to other students.

With respect to home status, as with other environmental factors, the counselor must constantly keep in mind that little importance can be attached to the mere presence or absence of certain factors often or even usually associated with delinquent conduct;

rather he should watch for antisocial attitudes which are generated by the presence or absence of these factors. For example, many studies have shown that the siblings of delinquents are frequently not delinquent, and although certain objective environmental factors are present for types of siblings, the more stable members of the family, as judged by their absence of reported delinquency, react differently and thereby adjust better to their unfavorable environmental conditions.⁹ Frequently students in college, high school, or grade school exhibiting problem behavior are found to come from families which seem to provide the minimum essentials of stability and desirable environment. From what we have learned through the study of individual differences, it seems reasonable to conclude that constitutional and psychological factors may predispose *some* adolescents to personal or social maladjustment despite the fact that their environment may seem satisfactory to a social investigator.

The health and financial security of a student need to be investigated when that student is involved in a disciplinary situation. Healy and Bronner found that while health was not generally related to delinquency, it may be important in some particular cases.¹⁰ In like manner, the counselor must be alert to the possible effects of limited finances since the majority of students enrolled in a public educational institution have somewhat circumscribed financial limitations, and it is not unusual to find half of the student population partially or completely self supporting through outside employment. Burt found that financial problems alone are seldom responsible for delinquency,¹¹ but it seems clear that many students who steal do so because they have pressing financial problems. In contrast to this relationship, the counselor needs to remember that some students with adequate financial resources still may steal because of compulsive or neurotic factors. Healy has postulated that such stealing, lying, sex misconduct, and other forms of delinquency may be the expression of neurotic

⁹ See review of literature on delinquency by Maud A. Merrill, *Problems of Child Delinquency*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1947.

¹⁰ Healy and Bronner, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹¹ Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent*, p. 171, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1930.

tensions and that the asocial act somehow eases the tension.¹² If this is true, delinquent behavior is not the solution for the problems of the individual since misconduct generates other tensions such as fear of apprehension, guilt, and self-conflict, and a vicious circle is established.

Vocational and Educational Factors

The role of vocational and educational factors in student discipline is dealt with elsewhere in this book, but reference may be made to the student's present status. Information about the student's measured college ability, his rank in high school graduating class, and a record of his college grades are essential to a complete investigation. In understanding the student the counselor cannot neglect this part of his adjustment, since unrealized ambitions may produce frustrating circumstances which sometimes lead to disciplinary behavior. The factors of achievement beyond or below level of ability may be estimated by comparison of measured ability tests and high school performance against performance in college courses. If a student is maladjusted with respect to his classroom environment, he will need to seek other satisfactions outside of class. If his study habits are poor or if he gives up all pretext of studying, he may find himself unacceptable to other students who are making educational progress. As a consequence he may gravitate to a small group of students who find themselves in a similar predicament. These groups often represent something of the irresponsible "hobo" element in college. They are often a transient group which may use or abuse the facilities provided by the college for out-of-class activities.

Experience seems to indicate that a student who becomes a disciplinary case will, other things being equal, have a better prognosis for rehabilitation if his college grades are in harmony with his aptitudes. Students who are balking up an inappropriate scholastic or vocational tie may find themselves frustrated or upset, and sometimes may vent their spleen on some unsuspecting victim. Emotional maladjustments which result from scholastic deficiencies may predispose a student to misconduct inasmuch as

¹² William Healy, *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*, Little, Brown, & Company, Boston, 1917.

delinquents have generally been found to have more emotional problems and evidences of emotional instability than have non-delinquents.

Educational maladjustments have implications for the treatment which the counselor will attempt once he has collected his data, interviewed the student, and cleared up the immediate complaint. Not infrequently in the treatment of a student it will be found that he has faltered because his scholastic load is too heavy, and such discipline cases have potentialities for readjustment if part of this excessive burden can be relieved. Through counseling, more realistic goals can be set and the likelihood of achieving these goals can be improved, and as a result the student may come to achieve some satisfactions of a socially acceptable kind. The approval of his classmates thus secured through acceptable behavior will cause the student to seek further satisfactions through acceptable adjustments in other areas of his collegiate life.

Extracurricular Activities

A student's membership or participation in social, recreational, religious, and athletic groups should be determined. Although limited participation in organized activities is not necessarily a handicap, yet research is needed to determine the relationship between extracurricular activities and disciplinary behavior. It would seem reasonable that participation in organized activities ought to tap the energies of students and direct them into socially acceptable channels. This, no doubt, is true for many people, but Healy and Bronner found that more delinquents than normal individual adolescents engaged in swimming, skating, football, baseball, and other sports. They found that delinquents seem to be as fond of reading as nondelinquents, and both seem to prefer the same type of reading material, such as adventure stories found in pulp magazines. Delinquents showed more interest in movies than did the control group, but the obvious implications which are often leveled as criticisms of the movies, namely, that youngsters learn a great deal about crime and perhaps are motivated to commit delinquent acts, were not found to be true of the group studies by Healy and Bronner. These investigators also found no significant difference between the two groups with respect to

hobbies or the quality of creativeness as exhibited in music, drawing, handicraft, acrobatics, animal pets, and other interests.¹³

While the role of extracurricular activities for the individual delinquent student is not yet thoroughly understood, it seems reasonable to believe that a healthy development of sportsmanship, cooperation, and other socially desirable character traits may well result from activities participation. Opportunities for leadership help to improve the ego status and well-being of the student and, if he takes his responsibilities seriously, he imposes upon himself certain limitations in his conduct which otherwise he might not feel obliged to exercise. While some of these participation factors cannot be directly related as yet to the college delinquent, the investigator of particular disciplinary situations should keep in mind the *possibilities* of such relationships.

Personality Traits

The information most essential to the rehabilitation of college delinquents is knowledge of their personality characteristics and the identification of those maladjustments and defects which interfere with the student's success in coping with his environment. Almost every study of delinquent children has shown that character defects or maladjustments of an emotional or social nature are present in a large majority of problem children. Healy and Bronner state that, in so far as their studies have been concerned, hyperactivity, including the attendant aggressiveness and impulsiveness, is the most frequently found personality factor in delinquent children. Temper tantrums, moodiness, and irritability were found in about a third of their sample, and about 14 per cent were diagnosed as neurotic or as personality deviates. Surprisingly enough, only about 25 per cent of their cases showed a marked lack of appreciation of the "wrongfulness" of their delinquent conduct, and these made little attempt to justify their behavior.¹⁴ The well-known phenomenon of logic-tight, compartmentalized thinking is perhaps nowhere better demonstrated than in the case of these delinquents who knew what was commonly accepted as right and wrong, but nevertheless committed serious

¹³ Healy and Bronner, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

offenses without incorporating restraining beliefs and mores into their behavior patterns. Clinical experience with college delinquents who show similar lack of integration poses a problem which can be understood more satisfactorily in terms of a behavioristic psychology than in terms of a rationalistic psychology.

Inferiority feelings and fantasy life each were found present in about one-third of the Healy and Bronner group of delinquents. They did not, however, find that delinquency was mainly the expression of selfishness engaged in for pleasure at the expense of someone else. These youngsters did not seem to be particularly a pleasure-loving group when compared with the controls. But feelings of rejection or insecurity were marked in more than one-third of the cases. Deep feelings of being thwarted in self-expression and other self-satisfactions were found in approximately a similar number of cases, and marked feelings of inadequacy or inferiority in some situations or activities were found in more than 40 per cent of the cases. This report does not make clear the incidence of these emotional maladjustments in the control group.¹⁵

Source of Data

In the college or university, the disciplinary counselor can get personality information from several sources. Ratings on college applicants are usually made by high school principals and submitted with entrance credentials. Faculty members may have opportunities to observe students and to give opinions about the adequacy of personal characteristics. Householders and supervisors in dormitories and other residential units and supervisors in the student union building have opportunities to observe students in their native habitat of residence or informally organized activities. More systematic information may be obtained from counselors or personnel workers who have had contacts with the students, from employers, and from those associates who also participate in student activities.

THE STUDENT'S POTENTIALITIES FOR REHABILITATION

When all the analytic data, test results, grades, counselors' reports, information about activities, finance, health, and other re-

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 44-49.

ports have been collected, the counselor synthesizes the information in an attempt to construct an accurate understanding of the student. Ordinarily the data will be far from complete, and one must wait for the interview to fill in missing gaps and perhaps for additional test data or for interviews by other counselors or psychiatrists. Usually, however, there is enough material to permit the counselor to *sketch out* several major areas of the student's personality.

Upon the basis of the synthesis, both the diagnosis of the student's personality and a prognosis of his future adjustment may be *tentatively* made, subject to modification following one or more interviews with the student. The counselor can answer several questions at this point, both with respect to the specific disciplinary situation and also with respect to other important and related areas of adjustment.

We digress here to emphasize again, as throughout this book, that disciplinary counseling is *not* restricted to dealing narrowly with the disciplinary charge alone. Rather does the counselor deal with *all* aspects of the student's life adjustments, many of which are significantly related to the misbehavior. If the related maladjustments are alleviated or cleared up, then, in most cases, the misbehavior clears up.

Scholastic Prognosis

On the basis of college aptitude tests, high school and college grade records, the counselor can judge whether the student has the intellectual ability to meet the demands of his educational field of study. Depending upon the college in which he is enrolled, his score on a psychological examination and his high school rank may be used jointly or in combination with other test data to predict his probable grades. This may be compared with his actual achievement to determine whether under- or over-achievement is a problem in readjustment. Furthermore, some prediction of future grades can be made on the basis of college grades already earned.

Similarly, from data on measured versus claimed interests, and from special aptitude tests, one may estimate the probability of achieving a given vocational goal. As has been pointed out pre-

viously, in counseling a disciplinary student, it may be found that the symptom of misbehavior may be an expression of educational, vocational, or personal maladjustments of various kinds. Since all disciplinary charges are restricted to problems of ethical or moral development, the counselor must systematically survey other areas of tension and conflict for possible origins.

Related Health and Finance Adjustments

The student's prognosis must be evaluated in terms of his expected health and financial problems. These two areas of adjustment are often very closely associated, in that students often attempt to carry a full scholastic program and at the same time work to earn enough money to pay part or all personal expenses. Young and seemingly healthy students are not always easily convinced that physiological and psychological fatigue can be very real problems. Unless students have seen friends interrupt or postpone their educational programs, or unless they themselves have experienced ill health, they are inclined to believe that hours of sleep, three meals a day, and a diversified program including study, work, and play need not be balanced in precisely the recommended proportion. The student who has gotten himself into a stage of excessive jitters through overwork, combined with the attempt to carry a full program, is, however, not an uncommon phenomenon to college administrators.

Social Adjustment

If the student is adjusting satisfactorily in the areas of health and finance, there may be certain other skills and attitudes in which he is deficient. His difficulties may have arisen from a lack of certain social or personal skills, which in turn has made him unacceptable in one way or another to associates in his residential quarters or elsewhere on campus. The socially crude student stands little chance, under normal circumstances, of being invited to join a fraternity or sorority or other social groups, to whose membership he may aspire. These difficulties may arise from lack of personal knowledge about how to dress appropriately and tastefully, how to dance, or how to mix formally or informally with social groups. Lacking such skills, he may become a "social

isolate" and be left to his own devices. Or he may be forced into the company of other social rejects and thus reinforce his social segregation. If this becomes his in-group, he must accept the mores and code which prevail. Whenever his social ethics or mores are atypical, the student will have to learn more acceptable techniques if his college life is to fit him for the role of a satisfying and satisfied future citizen of the community.

Social Attitudes

The disciplinary student's attitudes may be adversely related to acceptance by other students. Many students express maladjustments to our society through. (1) extreme political attitudes, whether radical or conservative, (2) the conviction that other individuals are to be used primarily for his own exploitation; or (3) the adoption of a role as an inordinately sensitive aesthete. Experience thus far seems to indicate that, with our presently used techniques, the first group, the political rebels, have a relatively poor prognosis for disciplinary rehabilitation. Those holding reactionary or bigoted ideas are difficult to change. The impact of new ideas through classes and through informal group discussions is usually resisted and old beliefs are usually unshaken by discussion. Even a skilled counselor will find that such students are highly resistant to change.

Such radical students usually reflect a long-standing pattern of rejection of family training, local mores, religious teachings, and, not infrequently, aversion to conventional sex taboos. The prognosis for such students is somewhat better if, when they arrive upon the campus scene, they find themselves in a more liberal environment than that of their home community. Many successfully weather their period of rebellion, but others seem to crystallize and to be goaded into more extreme behavior patterns. The exploitation of young radicals and reactionaries by equally maladjusted adults is extremely unfortunate because this tends to crystallize adolescent behavior patterns in such a way that they persist through life. This in itself might not be harmful, but it generates social conflict in unhappy, dissatisfied peripheral members of society who seek either to regress to a lower level of civilization or to attempt to change society and all its institutions overnight.

The amount of personal misery experienced by these adolescents in later life when they are continually in conflict with society is unquestionably very great, and the college has a real responsibility in attempting to assist the student to learn more moderate patterns of attitudes toward the conflict of ideas. The college which did the best job in such a training program might be accused of retarding the development of great social reformers, but one might argue that well-adjusted citizens contribute significantly to the stability and progress of our society and its institutions.

The second group of students, those with motivations toward exploitation of others, may manifest their maladaptation through aggressive leadership. They may join organizations which they utilize as springboards to fame or for personal position among campus leaders. Not only do many organizations suffer through such victimization, but the loss of opportunities and experiences for individual members of these groups may be very great as a result of the consequent disorganization which ensues. Some of the opportunities which are thus lost to other students are not recoverable, and an important learning area may be closed to them at the time when they might profit most from it.

Probably the majority of students who are inclined toward exploitation achieve their purposes through individual effort rather than through group means. Such efforts may tend toward financial, social, or sexual exploitation of other students, or they may be channelized in an effort to make contacts for future jobs. The prognosis for students thus classified, whether they exploit individuals or groups, does not seem particularly favorable.

The third group, which may be called aesthetes, are a sensitive, withdrawn, and shy group of individuals who often find their best levels of adjustment through outlets which prescribe a minimum of routine. They most frequently find their appropriate environments in literary, theatrical, radio, artistic, or musical activities. In such student groups there is usually found a quota of members who find in their activities an escape rather than a realistic and aggressive pursuit of a career. Prognosis for such students is more favorable if they can look forward to the life of a Bohemian, in an informal or loosely structured social group.

One occasionally finds other varieties of students whose attitudes are not in harmony with or appropriate to the college setting. Usually such students will be found to have been fairly well adjusted in their home communities, but they now find that their mores and ethics are of a different sort than those of their fellow students. These rebels may be sulky toward college officials because they believe that the university or college places unreasonable limitations or restrictions on their private life.

The general problem confronting the counselor is to orient himself for the forthcoming interview with the student whose conduct has classified him as a disciplinary case. If sufficient data are available, he may be able to determine with a fair degree of accuracy whether the complaint is symptomatic of maladjustments on the part of the student, whether it is the product of a normal rebellious adolescent, or whether it is the result of insufficient information or lack of knowledge of social adjustments. In effect, the counselor attempts to predict, from where the student is, where he is going, and how the expected rehabilitation will develop. He attempts to evaluate the student to determine what treatment seems necessary to restore him to normal standing in the college community.

WHAT ACTION AND TREATMENT WILL ACHIEVE REHABILITATION?

This stock-taking stage of the disciplinary process may occur at least twice in the course of resolving a disciplinary problem. The counselor may formulate in advance the seemingly necessary action and treatment to be taken, which can start early in the first interview. If, however, the interview takes an unexpected turn because of resistance on the part of the student or for any other reason, the counselor must reformulate his program of re-orientation or rehabilitation.

Given sufficient information, the counselor asks himself whether the student's behavior is a symptom of an underlying conflict or problem. If the answer is in the negative, he then turns to other possible explanations, such as insufficient information, careless or good intentions which have gone astray, perhaps through no fault of the student.

If there seems to be no underlying adjustment problem, then

the counselor may decide, subject to later revision, that one interview with the student can be sufficient to secure an explanation of the situation and to redirect the student so that he can adjust more harmoniously to his collegiate environment. Before such a judgment can be made, the counselor should have reviewed the various aspects and areas of the student's total adjustment. He must further remember that symptomatic behavior is not always *logically* related to an underlying personality problem. The student who may be hyperactive and who is exploiting his fellow students for personal gain may seem to have adequate social contacts and outlets. But, if he is compensating for inferiority feelings or for lack of social finesse, then he has a real problem of learning personal-social skills and of removing or allaying the underlying drives. Frustrations which are generated in students as a result of rigorous, professional discipline may often be expressed through drunkenness or sex misconduct. In such cases the student must relearn how to adjust to the rigors and peculiarities of professional discipline and mores in order to better fit himself for his future through the development of acceptable social conduct.

Where there seems to be an underlying adjustment problem, the counselor may have to wait until he first interviews the student before he can make a judgment. Yet he can facilitate progress in this case by a careful exploratory interview. Through sincere and expert conduct of the first interview, he may be able to get directly at the heart of the problem and thus begin rehabilitation counseling.

On the basis of information which has been secured about the student, the counselor may be able to anticipate certain pitfalls or roadblocks which will materialize in the first interview. He may discover that the student is so aggressive or so ruggedly individualistic that he will not cooperate beyond meeting minimum requirements, such as paying his rent or otherwise satisfying explicit and clearly-defined rules and regulations. This, of course, creates a problem for the counselor in an institution where broad general policies are established as substitutes for detailed rules. On the other hand, the student may be so fearful or timid that the counselor can anticipate the need for two or three interviews

before the client can be brought face to face with the realism of the situation and thus acquire insight into the basic problem or problems. Another student may be convinced that he has grown up, and although not actively noncooperative, he may, by virtue of his beliefs and attitudes, be hindered from gaining insight into the fact that he is, in fact, typically adolescent in his behavior.

If it seems that severe restrictions upon privileges or upon modes of conduct may be essential to protect the welfare of other students, the interviewer must prepare himself to meet the objections of the student being so restricted. If the student is thoughtless or irresponsible, one approach may be worked out. If, however, he is likely to accept the action grudgingly and try to find other ways to annoy or abuse people, the interviewer must be prepared to cope with that tendency. In the majority of cases, the counselor will not be incorrect in assuming that the student, overawed or ashamed of having been identified as a disciplinary problem case, will accept the responsibility for the outcomes of his conduct like a good sport and will cooperate in trying to reestablish himself in the eyes of the counselor and those with whom he has come in conflict.

SUMMARY

Throughout his investigation of the social and psychological factors and forces operating in the dynamics of the situation, the counselor constantly recasts hypotheses regarding the student, his background, potentialities, and the outcomes of the situation. The purpose of these formulations and reformulations is to prepare for the coming initial interview which will combine further investigation into the complaint, a resolution of the conflict, and disciplinary counseling designed to reorient the student and to prepare him to be a more acceptable and satisfied member of his college society.

CHAPTER VII

Disciplinary Actions

After a disciplinary charge has been investigated and verified, the case is usually presented to the committee on discipline or to an administrator for action. In the case of minor offenses, the disciplinary counselor may act on his own initiative, but in such cases his action usually consists of counseling the student or placing him on disciplinary probation. With respect to those cases presented to the committee, as was explained in a preceding chapter, the committee deliberates and makes a determination of the extent and nature of the student's participation in the disciplinary situation. Then comes the final step of action by the committee or by the disciplinary counselor. The term action is used as a general designation of all steps and procedures to be taken with respect to a student. We shall see that disciplinary action is not synonymous with such a term as "punishment."

It should be clearly borne in mind that the purpose and nature of any disciplinary action stems from the broader philosophy undergirding and determining the character of the entire disciplinary program. Disregarding certain infrequent situations in which the security and protection of the institution are paramount, *by all odds the major purpose of disciplinary action takes on the character of rehabilitation.* The implicit assumption of this concept of disciplinary action is that if rehabilitation is effectively achieved, then the misbehavior in question will disappear, or at least will

not reappear again in a similar social context. The purpose of disciplinary action may be stated in simpler terms: What motivations may be induced in the student so that he will not again misbehave in the same way or in related ways?

A plan of disciplinary action appropriate to a particular student might grow out of an assumption that one or more of a number of motives might be utilized to deter similar misbehavior. These motives might include the following:

Fear of consequences such as censure from faculty

Insight into the inappropriateness of his misbehavior, with the motive to avoid doing that which is inappropriate or incongruous

Fear of ridicule from his student associates because his behavior violated student mores

The desire to do those things which are judged "right" and the corresponding desire to avoid doing those things which are judged "wrong"—the standards learned in childhood and relearned with some modifications in adolescence

One, all, or none of these motivations may operate in the case of a particular individual student. The basic art of disciplinary counseling consists of the skill of the counselor in achieving insight into the fundamental motivations of the student so as to invent a type of disciplinary action which will touch upon and utilize the student's fundamental motivations. This is not to say, for example, that the disciplinary counselor should play upon the student's fear of consequences. Rather should the counselor use the student's desire to avoid being apprehended, in such a "teaching-counseling" manner that he will see clearly that a recurrence of his current misbehavior will produce similar undesired consequences.

As is true of every other type of counseling, deep insight in fundamental motivations and human mechanisms is difficult to achieve, and indeed one can never be absolutely certain that such deep insight is achieved. Nevertheless, disciplinary counselors must strive to establish a basic and self-evident congruity between disciplinary action and the fundamental motivations of the individual. Otherwise the probabilities of rehabilitation are seriously

lessened. For example, to restrict the social privileges of a misbehaving student who genuinely did not, in the first instance, wish to participate in social affairs, would obviously be of little effect. In like manner, to deny athletic privileges to a student who did not desire originally to participate in athletics would scarcely be an effective rehabilitating disciplinary action. On the other hand, to hold a student responsible for the misuse of money privileges by withholding money which ordinarily he would have devoted to personal enjoyment and social recreation, such a "teaching device" might have a rehabilitating effect. These are, however, only some of the minor examples of possible disciplinary action.

POSSIBLE REHABILITATING ACTION

We turn to a review of possible rehabilitating actions to be taken by a disciplinary committee, by the counselor, or by the two in cooperation. The range of this possible action appears at first sight to be narrow and limited. For example, one may either expel a student or not. If a student is expelled, then presumably the institution would experience no more misbehavior from the student. If he is not expelled, then the question persists how to prevent future misbehavior, since the student, it may be assumed, *occasionally* will think that he can get away with misbehavior again and not be punished. We will not digress at this point to evaluate actions taking the form of punishment or evaluate their rehabilitating potentialities. We discussed this point of view in an earlier chapter.

To return to rehabilitating actions, alternative actions are not usually as black or white as are "exclusion" or "no punishment." And expulsion is obviously not the only effective way of getting rid of undesirable behavior. Far too many college disciplinary officers seem to agree with Alice's queen and thus call "Off with their heads!" on almost every occasion of disciplinary action. But students *do* respond to other than "capital-punishment" types of corrective and rehabilitating action. They *do* learn to substitute acceptable for unacceptable behavior and to restrain impulsive misbehavior. If such generalizations were not true of most students, that is, with respect to the modifiability of behavior, then colleges would have long ago been branded as failures in their attempts to teach students to learn anything. Of course it is true

that the observed modifiability of students may not be as flexible and profound in its potentialities as the faculty would desire. But the capacity of modifiability is present in all but the most rigid psychopathic, misbehaving, delinquent students. And with respect to our attempts to modify behavior, we must not forget that we operate in a social institution dedicated to the *instruction* of youth.

The problem of selecting an appropriate course of action turns into one involving the ingenuity of the counselor, working with the student, to discover means that will prove effective in rehabilitation. In this respect, disciplinary counseling resembles every other type of counseling. Thus the counselor and the student together search for effective ways of achieving a commonly accepted goal which is congenial to the student and congruent with his basic potentialities, interests, and desires. The one essential difference between other types of counseling and disciplinary counseling is that, in the latter, the student needs *especially* to learn a deep understanding of the social context in which he gives expression to his own interests and impulses. Parenthetically, it may be stated that too much counseling of other types seems to take place without major reference to the social context in which the student must work out his own adjustments—vocational, educational, or other. In this sense then, disciplinary counseling gives desirable and greater emphasis to the restraining and modifying influences of the social context, in order for the student to learn that his own behavior is classified as misbehavior by others whose interests, rights, and privileges he has not considered of major importance heretofore.

In our search for possible rehabilitating actions to correct disciplinary behavior, we turn next to a brief historical review of some of the actions taken in the past in institutions of higher learning in this country and abroad. Perhaps from such a review we may get a clear perspective, which in turn will permit us to evaluate possible action in the current scene in colleges and universities.

DISCIPLINE IN THE PAST

The general point of view toward disciplinary action in medieval times, and even in American colonial days, was quite severe in contrast with the one expounded in this book. Writing of uni-

versities and city schools of Europe in the period 1200 to 1500, Paulsen says that.¹

The school discipline was in keeping with the character of the times in general and the spirit of church discipline in particular, strict and even cruel. The great means of correction, at home as well as at school, was the rod, the standing attribute of the medieval teacher. It was regularly resorted to even for didactic purposes as is shown by ominous nick-names given to school books, such as *Sparadorsum* (back-sparer). Castigation was in common use in the convents as a necessary and pious exercise and an occasional dose of it was considered as salutary for youth under all circumstances.

In addition to severity, the medieval point of view towards discipline was characterized by what seems to be an incongruity now between the type and gravity of the offense and the nature of the action. Leniency for grave moral offenses and strict insistence upon minor matters was the rule of the day.² For example, in the statutes of Leipsic University in 1438 the following fines are stipulated:³

10 new groschen for lifting a stone or other missel with a view to throwing it at a Master, but not actually throwing it

8 florins for throwing and missing.

More than 8 florins for hitting the Master.

18 florins for wounding without mutilation as distinguished from hitting without wounding

Expulsion for actual mutilation.

Drunkenness did not appear to be considered a university offense,⁴ and only on a third offense was a student expelled for introducing "suspected women into the Paedagogy."⁵ And for killing

¹ Friedrich Paulsen, *German Education*, p. 31, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1908.

² Robert S. Rait, *Life in the Medieval University*, pp. 105-106, Cambridge University Press, London, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931.

³ Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. II, p. 615, Oxford University Press, New York, 1895.

⁴ Nevertheless, Rait refers to the imposition of six or eight days' imprisonment for a "drunken row" in Leipsic University in 1524. See Rait, *op. cit.*, p. 102

⁵ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

another student in a drunken quarrel at Ingolstadt, the University confiscated the offender's "scholastic effects and garments."⁶ But "a Plague Master of Arts, believed to have assisted in cutting the throat of a Friar Bishop, was actually expelled."⁷

Types of Penalties

The penalties or actions which were used in this medieval period include:⁸

Imprisonment in the Rector's jail⁹ or excommunication for the most serious cases

Postponement of the degree, expulsion from the College or Paedogogy, or temporary or permanent banishment from the University town for less serious offenses

Fines for ordinary breaches of discipline.

Matthew Arnold, writing in 1892 of German universities, mentioned five penalties which bear a close resemblance to those in use centuries earlier. These were reprimand, fines, imprisonment for not more than one month in the University *carcer*, dismissal, absolute expulsion from all universities.¹⁰ Paulsen stated that in Prussia of the past century, the following actions were used: reprimand, fines not exceeding 20 marks, imprisonment not exceeding 14 days, threat of expulsion, and as a last resort, expulsion.¹¹ Else-

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 612

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸ *Ibid*

⁹ References to the Rector's prison, *carcer*, are frequent in the literature of European universities, and the one at Heidelberg still retains (1948) its rich records of the names and fraternity colors of all who were imprisoned there up until the First World War. The concept of a special *carcer* for students must still have its occasional appeal today for every disciplinary committee and dean of students who deal with the full range of variations in modern student behavior. It should be said that such an appeal usually takes the form of a desired escape for the disciplinarian himself rather than rehabilitation for the student

¹⁰ Matthew Arnold, *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany*, p. 146, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1892.

¹¹ Friedrich Paulsen, *The German Universities. Their Character and Historical Development*, p. 95, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1895.

where Paulsen adds "threat of rustication" and "rustication and expulsion"^{12,13}

Rait has listed the offenses for which the use of fines was prescribed in 1432 in the University of Paris, "a period when in the opinion of the University a pecuniary penalty was more dreaded than anything else."¹⁴ The list of fines and offenses includes the following.

- 12 pence for threatening violence
- 2 shillings for wearing arms
- 4 shillings for a violent shove with the shoulders or a blow with the fist
- 6 shillings and 8 pence for a blow with a sword, a knife, a dagger or any similar "bellicose weapon"
- 20 shillings for carrying bows and arrows with evil intent
- 30 shillings for collecting an assembly to break the peace, hinder the execution of justice or make an attack upon anyone
- 40 shillings for resisting the execution of justice or wandering about by night

In every case damages also had to be paid to any injured person.¹⁵

¹² Friedrich Paulsen, *The German Universities and University Study*, p. 78, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1906.

¹³ A comparison of Paulsen's report of the past century with recent German practice will document the persistence of disciplinary practices in the university. The following translation, by the senior author of this book, is taken from page 113 of *Das Studenten Handbuch, Amtlicher Führer für die Universität zu Berlin*, Verlag von Struppe & Winckler, Berlin, 1931/1932.

"Disciplinary Penalties. 1. Reprimand 2. Money penalties. 3. Threat of removal from the University 4. Not counting completed semesters in the prescribed course of study. 5 Removal from the University. 6 Exclusion from university study [altogether]. The punishment of removal from the University carries with it, at the same time, the forfeiture of successive semesters even if the [student] concerned shall consider admission to another university. Only in the case of not counting the completed semesters, removal from the University or the exclusion from university study [altogether] is an appeal permitted to Herr Minister [of Education]. The written appeal shall be made within a period of two weeks. The period begins with the day of announcement of the [disciplinary] decision."

¹⁴ Rait, *op cit*, p. 95.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 95-97.

Another form of punishment was flogging, and Rashdall states, "The sixteenth century was the flogging age *par excellence* in the English universities."¹⁶ Flogging was also used extensively in German, Scottish, and French universities in the same century. The following quotation will illustrate the use of this form of penalty as a means of controlling students' behavior:¹⁷

A college official brings to the Rector's court [Leipsic] in 1545 one of his pupils, John Ditz, who has lost much money by gambling. Ditz and one of his friends, Caspar Winckler, who had won six florins and some books from him, have already been flogged by their preceptors, they are now sentenced to imprisonment, but as the weather is very cold, they are to be released after one day's detention and sent back to their preceptors to be flogged again. Their companions are sentenced to return any money, books, or garments which they had won in gambling games.

An illustration from a Scottish University, Glasgow, in 1532, will broaden our understanding of flogging as a device to prevent misbehavior.¹⁸

Reverence and filial fear were so important, said the masters, that no student was to meet the Rector, the Dean, or one of the Regents openly in the street, by day or by night. Immediately he was observed he must slink away and escape as best he could, and he must not be found again in the streets without special leave. The penalty was a public flogging.

A last illustration of the use of flogging will serve to show the reader that American higher education was not always free from severe punishment for misbehavior. For example.¹⁹

From Judge Sewall's *Diary* we get a description of one of these floggings in 1674. The culprit, who had been guilty of "speaking blasphemous words," was sentenced to be "publicly whipped before all the scholars, to be suspended from taking his bachelor's degree," and "to sit alone by himself uncovered at meals during the pleasure of the

¹⁶ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, p. 623.

¹⁷ Rait, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹⁹ Joshua L. Chamberlain, editor-in-chief, *Universities and Their Sons*, Book III, p. 177, R. Herndon Co., Boston, 1898.

President and Fellows." The sentence was twice read before the officers, students, and some of the Overseers, in the library, the offender knelt down; the President prayed; then came the flogging; after which the President closed the ceremonies with another prayer.

American Types of Punishment

The most detailed summary of the forms of punishment used in early American colleges is found in B. H. Hall's *A Collection of College Words and Customs*. The types in use included the following.²⁰

Fines. A few of the fines will indicate the relative scale of moral seriousness.

2 pence. Absence from prayers

4 pence Absence from professor's public lectures

3 shillings Profanation of Lord's Day

1 shilling 6 pence. Absence from recitation

2 shillings 6 pence Undergraduates out of town without leave

10 shillings. Undergraduates tarrying out of town one week without leave

1 shilling 6 pence. Entertaining persons of ill character

1 shilling 6 pence. Frequenting taverns

1 shilling 6 pence. Lying

5 shillings 6 pence. Opening doors by pick-locks

1 shilling 6 pence. Drunkenness

1 shilling 6 pence. Tumultuous noise

3 shillings Refusing to give evidence

*Imposition.*²¹ Literary tasks such as compulsive attendance at exercises in a college hall, copying 100 lines, translating, repeating several hundred lines of a book or poem from memory, etc

*Letter Home.*²² A certain number of absences from matins or vespers, recitations, entitles the culprit to a heart-rending epistle, addressed, not to himself, but to his anxious father or guardian at home. The document is always conceived in a spirit of severity, in order to make it likely to take effect. It is meant to be impressive, less by the heinousness of the offense upon which it is predicated, than by the pregnant terms in which it is couched.²³

²⁰ B. H. Hall, *A Collection of College Words and Customs*, 2d ed., pp 195-199, John Bartlett, Cambridge, Mass., 1856.

²¹ *Ibid*, pp. 261-262.

²² *Ibid.*, pp 291-292.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 192.

Private. Mild punishment, private admonition or reproof, and deduction, at Harvard College, of 32 marks from the "rank" of the offender.²⁴

Admonition. Public reproof and deductions from the offender's rank with official notice to his parents.²⁵

Deduction. Deducting from the student's marks for recitation and other exercises and from his standing in the class.²⁶

Degradation. Because of some offense, placing a student's name on the college list below the level at which his father's status would assign him, thus declaring that the student had disgraced his family.²⁷

Warning. Friendly caution and advice by a faculty member, thus giving the student opportunity to correct his faults and to escape punishment.²⁸

Suspension to the Room. Confinement of an offending student to his room and exclusion from his classes, requiring him to recite privately to his teacher for a time.²⁹

Confession. A publicly read confession of misbehavior presented by the offender in the college hall.³⁰

Sconce. A system of fines or "mulcts" used at Oxford for offenses.³¹

Rusticate. The offending student is sent from the university to reside in the country and is required to be examined in his studies when he returns.³²

Schmidt stated that James Russell Lowell was rusticated for two months during his senior year at Harvard and was examined in Locke and other philosophical works he studied during his exile.³³

Suspension. Separating a student from his class and compelling him to study those subjects in which he is deficient, under private instruction.³⁴

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 376.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 6

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 152

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-154.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 124

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 402.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 398

³³ George P. Schmidt, *The Old Time College President*, p. 83, Columbia University Press, New York, 1930

³⁴ Hall, *op. cit*, p. 452.

Corporal Punishment. At Harvard the first president, Dunster, established whipping as a legitimate form of punishment.³⁵

Dismission. Separation of a student from the college for an indefinite or a limited period of time. When the student applied for readmission, he was required to furnish satisfactory testimonials of good conduct during his separation time and regarding his qualifications for readmission.³⁶

Expulsion. The highest censure and the final separation from the college. Hall quotes from Quincy's *History of Harvard University* (p 442) the following dramatic example.³⁷

"In the Diary of Mr Leverett, who was President of Harvard College from 1707 to 1724, is an account of the manner in which the punishment of expulsion was then inflicted. It is as follows. 'In the College Hall the President, after morning prayers, the Fellows, Masters of Art, and the several classes of Undergraduates being present, after a full opening of the crimes of the delinquents, a pathetic admonition of them, and solemn obtestation and caution to the scholars, pronounced the sentence of expulsion, ordered their names to be rent off the tables, and them to depart the Hall.'"

We have now taken the reader through a hasty and incomplete review of the principal forms and types of punishment used in European and American universities and colleges throughout the past several centuries. Our purpose was not to trace the detailed historical account. Rather was this review to serve as a strong background against which to highlight our subsequent discussion and description of the types of disciplinary actions in use today in one American state university. The brevity of our discussion stems from the inappropriateness in this book of a full, detailed account of the fascinating continuity of development of some forms of punishment from the medieval to the modern period in higher education, such as the use of money fines, other mulcts or sconces, reprimand, dismissal or expulsion, rustication, and the like. The survival of these forms of action is rather a topic for separate exploration. We turn now from this historical sketch to an analysis of disciplinary actions used in the contemporary university.

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 128-129.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 162

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 186.

TYPES OF DISCIPLINARY ACTION

By way of general orientation to our topic, we may discuss briefly some of the major categories of disciplinary action in use today and especially in the authors' institution. For convenience of discussion and statistical analysis, disciplinary actions may be classified under ten groupings, each of which will be discussed briefly with regard to the type of specific case to be so classified.

Not Guilty or Charge Not Proved

This category is used for classifying those cases concerning which it is the judgment of the counselor or the committee, or both, that the allegations and charges have not been proved, in other cases thus classified, the individual has produced evidence clearly indicating that the charges are not true with respect to him.

In some cases, the charge may still be legitimate when re-directed toward other students, known or unknown, but in the case of the original student so charged, the case should be closed in as friendly and courteous a manner as is possible. In some such cases, the indignant student and his parents may have to be mollified, and the investigation justified in terms which they will understand, namely, that all allegations must be investigated by the university, but investigation does not imply an assumed guilt.

No Disciplinary Action—Investigation and Review

In many cases the allegations of misbehavior may figuratively disappear in thin air when subjected to investigation and no basis for such a charge may be found. In such cases no disciplinary situation can be proved to have occurred, whether or not the students allegedly involved are known. Essentially the difference between this category and the previous one is that no disciplinary situation has occurred, as far as can be established. It may also be found that the name and identity of the students involved cannot be learned regardless of the intensity and extensiveness of the investigation. In such instances the case must be closed with no action.

Restitution Made by the Student

In some cases, particularly those involving damage to property and certain financial irregularities, the case may be properly closed with restitution being made by the student in the form of payment of money owed or payment for damage to property or similar forms of restitution. The nature of the restitution must be carefully evaluated because it must be such as to achieve the desired rehabilitation of the student, and it also must be fair in his eyes as well as equitable and just in the eyes of the person to whom the restitution is made.

Counseling Interviews

When a minor complaint may be cleared up in a single interview, the major emphasis should be placed by the counselor upon learning by the student of certain social customs and mores and methods of behavior which will assist him to adjust more harmoniously in future situations. If, in the judgment of the counselor, the objective of the rehabilitation is satisfactorily achieved, then there would seem to be no desirable further outcome to be gained by prolonging the disciplinary situation. Since most disciplinary situations are, in effect, minor in character with respect to their ethical and moral implications, it should be expected that this form of counseling action would be the most frequently used technique in college disciplinary programs.

Consultation and Referral for Diagnosis and Therapy

This category is used for cases which are not necessarily major in their ethical and moral and social implications, but which are *possibly* complicated by neurotic or psychopathic deviations which may be causally related to the misbehavior itself. In such cases, the form of the initial action is a referral to the psychiatric staff members for technical consultation. In many such cases, a prolonged psychiatric therapy is the next step in such action. In other cases, referral by the disciplinary counselor to the vocational guidance counselor for review of occupational and educational objectives may be the desired action. In all such instances, the use

of personnel specialists in the institution is the desired action to be taken by the disciplinary counselor to rehabilitate the individual. Cases of such a type are those in which the origin of the misbehavior is found in some social or personal conflict situation, or which may have arrived out of misplaced energy stemming from family conflict and similar social contextual factors

Restrictions on Privileges

Frequently minor disciplinary situations arise from the misuse or abuse of privileges with respect to social affairs, the use of the library, the use of university equipment, athletic privileges, and the like. The withholding of these privileges for a *limited* period of time is frequently effective as a means of aiding the student to see clearly that privileges are to be earned and not taken for granted. Such withdrawal of privileges should not be used in a preaching manner, but in a clear-cut and objective *quid pro quo* manner by the counselor, if they are to be effective in rehabilitation.

Disciplinary Probation

When a series of interviews may be necessary to effect the rehabilitation of the student, or when it seems he may get into further difficulties before being completely rehabilitated, the student should be placed on disciplinary probation. In a sense, he thus is placed on the alert and warned that repeated and continued misbehavior will lead to accumulated and augmented action. But the therapeutic counseling by the disciplinary counselor should be continued during the probationary period. Usually it is not best to extend the probationary period over and beyond the current school year. Such an overextension of the therapeutic and counseling relationships may so attenuate these relationships as to produce no real educative value or effects. The authors' experiences have been such as to indicate that in the overwhelming majority of even severe disciplinary misbehavior, a period of disciplinary probation is quite effective in restraining further impulsive misbehavior and in bringing about eventual rehabilitation.

"May Not Reenter without Special Review"

If a student leaves school before a disciplinary situation has been satisfactorily resolved, then his record should be such as to indicate that he may not reenter until he has satisfactorily cleared up the disciplinary situation. In local parlance this is usually called "hold on record." The notation on the official record of the registrar's office states "may not reenter or transfer record credit without approval of Dean" Such a technique insures that counseling relationships will be resumed when he reenters the institution or when he wishes to transfer to another institution. In the case of such a transfer, the student may be permitted to take his record with him with or without any statement of his disciplinary situation.

In another type of case this same category is used. In many cases the disciplinary behavior occurs when the student is not enrolled in the school either during the time of vacation or during the summer vacation. Or in some cases, misbehavior may occur while the student is temporarily dropped out of the institution for personal reasons. In such cases, the "hold" is placed on the record so as to insure that he will go through the disciplinary review before he is readmitted to the institution. For example, in the authors' institution, recently, a student with probable psychopathic tendencies carried on a subversive and vituperative campaign against minority groups while temporarily not in residence in the University. A "hold" was placed on his record so that he might not reenter without a complete official review of this very undesirable misbehavior.

Suspension for a Specified Period

As was true in the medieval period of higher education, the withdrawal of the privileges of residence to students is an action which must be taken in many cases to bring about rehabilitation. The term rustication was formerly used for one type of suspension. Sometimes the behavior is of such a gross and public character that to take any other action would be to create the impression, among students as well as general citizens, that the behavior in question was condoned. For example, suspensions may take place

for a quarter or semester as a punishment for a gross cheating case in an examination. Usually a year is the maximum period of suspension in most institutions.

The following disciplinary situation will illustrate the use of suspension for rehabilitation purposes:

A student who became involved in a sexual affair with a coed was identified after there had been considerable talk about his relationship among other students. When interviewed, he told the disciplinary counselor he thought that his private life should not be so scrutinized. Nevertheless, he was presented to the Disciplinary Committee and there he restated his attitudes concerning his private life. These points of view the committee could not accept as suitable to a University student, and concluded that, at that time he was callous and legalistic in his discussion of the affair. The Committee felt that, within the framework of the University counseling agencies, it did not appear feasible that this student's attitudes could be reoriented, at least not until he was in a better state of readiness. The Committee, therefore, suspended him hoping thereby to induce in him the realization that his attitudes were unbecoming both to a University student and to a future professional man. Three years later this student applied for readmission to the University and investigation revealed that after a very slow start, he had gradually changed his ways of thinking about social responsibilities. This man had been a responsible employee, had studied at a night school, and had married during the three-year interim. Upon meeting with the Committee a second time, he seemed to be a profoundly changed person and the Committee reinstated him in the University.

To continue with this same discipline situation, the following account will illustrate the principle of adapting the treatment to the individuality of the different students involved in the same situation. The girl involved showed a very different attitude toward the affair. The Committee could not be sure how sincere she was because of the suspicion that she might be trying to curry favor. Her prospects for rehabilitation, however, seemed much better than those of her friend and she was placed on disciplinary probation and continued in the University. She was six years younger than the man and showed no symptoms of his crass attitudes. After more than eight months of counseling in which the services of five different counselors were used to complement the work of one another, she gradually began to show marked improvement. She abandoned the role of a social isolate, ad-

justed better with her residence associates and improved her grades. For the first time in her college career, she showed the scholastic accomplishment which her college aptitude tests predicted. After one year of counseling while on disciplinary probation, she graduated and then continued her education, achieving an advanced degree and, according to last reports, was a well-integrated, happy individual. It seems probable that if this girl had been suspended at the time of the original incident, she would never have resumed her educational endeavors and suspension might have been a traumatic experience from which she would not have recovered. As it was, the intensive counseling assisted her through her unstable educational period to the point where she was well oriented toward her vocation. Suspension of the man, on the other hand, worked the opposite way. Coming from a poor family, he was goaded with bulldog resolution into resuming his educational career. Upon his ambition and level of aspiration, suspension acted as a stimulus, whereas upon the girl's discouraged attitude and uncertain vocational orientation, suspension might have resulted in the termination of her educational career and of the possibilities of this type of adjustment.

Permanently Dismissed or Excluded

Such a drastic action may take place in the authors' institution only with the explicit approval of the president. In reality, such an action is never permanent because a student who has been permanently dismissed may always apply for readmission and have his case reviewed. In such cases he must be able to establish clearly that rehabilitation has taken place, and that he has assumed adult responsibility satisfactorily outside of the educational institution. The following case will illustrate this point, the action may well seem too drastic in terms of the nature of the offense.

Some years ago a student in his senior year took an examination for a friend. He was discovered and upon meeting with the Disciplinary Committee displayed a rather sordid attitude toward the whole situation. Because of the Committee's judgment of limited possibilities of rehabilitation, he was permanently dismissed from the University. Seven years later he applied for readmission, but showed no fundamental change in his attitudes. He merely stated he thought he had gotten a raw deal in the first place, and that such an action as permanent dismissal would make it difficult for him to get a job. He seemed

to have no insight into his narrow view of the whole situation. His request for reinstatement was denied, but he was told he could reopen the issue at a later time.

A second case of exclusion illustrates other phases of this type of action:

A student who had taken a girl friend to a hotel to have a drinking party was presented to the Committee. He had been in trouble shortly before for a rather destructive party in which he and friends had smashed beer bottles against the wall of their dormitory room. This student, although intellectually promising, expressed such social, ethical, and moral attitudes that the Committee could see no hope of his rehabilitation in the University. The professional school to which he aspired had a representative on the Committee who announced that this college would never accept this boy as a candidate for a degree. Upon the recommendation of the Committee the president dismissed this student permanently. Three years later he reappeared and requested that his record be transferred to another institution. He discussed his war experiences and indicated, with evident insight and sincerity, that he had completely revised his philosophy of life. His request was granted.

Miscellaneous Types of Action

Other types of actions are frequently reported in the literature from other institutions. For example, the imposing of an additional requirement on the credit requirements for graduation is customarily used in many institutions. A student who has cheated in an examination, for example, may have 15 semester credits added to the normal requirement for graduation. In other institutions, the use of cash fines has been carried over from the medieval university practice. A student who has misbehaved in social situations by being intoxicated, for example, may be fined \$25. This type of action customarily is used in fraternities and sometimes in sororities for types of misbehavior. Cash fines are also used for the abuse of library privileges, such as retaining a book beyond the stipulated hour. In the authors' opinion, the use of the credit penalty beyond graduation requirement is not educationally desirable, nor is it desirable from a standpoint of rehabilitation. With respect to cash fines, this is sometimes, but not

frequently, an effective means of rehabilitation. All too often little psychological rehabilitation results from merely paying a fine, as is sometimes indicated by behavior observed in society in general with regard to the payment of traffic fines.

THE INCIDENCE OF DISCIPLINARY ACTION

In the preceding section we have discussed briefly the type of action to be classified under each category. In this present section we shall present quantitative data from the authors' institution indicating the frequency of occurrence of various types of action

TABLE 7 CLASSIFICATION OF DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS, 1946-1947*

<i>Type of action</i>	<i>Number</i>
1 Not guilty or charge not proved .	32
2 No disciplinary action investigation and review	98
3 Restitution made by student	23
4 Counseling interviews	195
5 Consultation and referral for diagnosis and therapy	61
6 Restrictions on privileges	64
7 Disciplinary probation	29
8. "May not reenter without special review"	53
9. Suspension for a specified period	2
10 Permanently dismissed or excluded	0
Total	557

* Actions taken in the case of 358 students with respect to 312 disciplinary situations

In Table 7 the actions taken during the academic year 1946-1947 are classified with regard to the ten types that were discussed in the previous section. It should be emphasized that these 557 actions taken during that one year are actions, and that more than one action was taken with regard to some students. A total of 358 individual students were involved in 312 disciplinary situations, and a total of 378 charges were made against the students. It is interesting to note that the 557 different actions constitute an average of 1.47 actions per charge and 1.55 actions per student.

As Table 7 indicates, over one-third of the actions, namely 195, involved the use of "counseling interviews" only, following investigation. The next most frequent category is that of "no disciplinary action," following investigation and review. Then comes "re-

strictions on privileges," followed by "consultation and referral for diagnosis and therapy." The use of the restriction upon admission to the University through the "may not reenter without special permission" type of action was next in frequency. In 32 instances, the cases were closed with the action "not guilty or charge not proved." In 23 cases, restitution for the disciplinary misbehavior was made by the student and the case satisfactorily closed. Finally, in 29 cases, disciplinary probation was the indicated action. In only two instances was the action that of suspension, and in no case during the entire school year was any student permanently dismissed. At the close of the school year, that is, on June 30, 1947, 20 cases (see Table 8) were still pending and no action had been taken. These 20 cases had originated late in the school year and there had been insufficient time to complete the processes involved. These cases were classified in the statistics for the year 1947-1948, not given in this book.

Table 7 shows that, in general, drastic disciplinary action was not used in this institution during the school year 1946-1947. Other statistical reports, not given in this book, indicate that only a half dozen or so permanent dismissal actions have been taken in the last half dozen years.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ACTION TO CHARGES

In addition to the previous discussion of the nature of disciplinary action, it will add to our understanding of disciplinary counseling if we analyze the manner in which actions are related to charges; that is, what action is taken concerning each type of charge. Our previous historical review of disciplinary actions indicated a definite and frequently rigid relationship between fixed action and specified misbehavior. In the authors' institution, such a rigid and definite relationship does not obtain. Nevertheless, there is, in general, some kind of relationship between the degree of severity of the action and the degree of seriousness of the disciplinary charge. Table 8 below shows this relationship for the 557 disciplinary actions taken in the year 1946-1947 in relationship to the 378 disciplinary charges involving 312 individual students. It should be noted again that 20 charges were still pending at the close of the school year and 358 charges were closed

COUNSELING AND DISCIPLINE

TABLE 8 DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS RELATED TO TYPE OF CHARGE

Type of charge	Type of action										Number of disciplinary charges			
	"Not guilty" or "charge not proved"	No disciplinary action investigated and review	Restitution made by student	Counseling interviews	Consultation and referral for diagnosis and therapy	Restrictions on privileges	Disciplinary probation	"May not reenter without special review"	Suspension for specified period	Permanently dismissed or excluded	Totals	Cases pending at end of year	Cases closed during year	Totals
Financial irregularity	3	7	22	34	1	—	1	15	—	—	83	5	48	53
Minor misconduct . . .	13	46	—	77	28	12	4	10	—	—	190	3	123	126
Disorderly conduct	7	6	—	13	4	1	6	13	—	—	50	2	35	37
Sex misconduct	3	15	—	14	6	—	11	5	2	—	56	8	19	27
Theft and burglary	4	18	—	10	10	—	5	4	—	—	51	—	27	27
Misuse of privileges	—	4	1	42	11	51	2	2	—	—	113	2	93	95
Miscellaneous	2	2	—	5	1	—	—	4	—	—	14	—	13	13
Totals	32	98	23	195	61	64	29	53	2	—	557	20	358	378

during the same period. It is these 358 charges which are classified with respect to the type of disciplinary action.

Table 8 should be read as follows. There were a total of 53 disciplinary charges classified as "financial irregularities," of which 48 were closed during the year and 5 were still pending at the end of the school year. With respect to these 53 charges of financial irregularity, 83 actions were taken, classified as follows.

3	not guilty
7	no action
22	restitution made by the student
34	counseling interviews
1	consultation and referral
0	restrictions on privileges
1	disciplinary probation
15	may not reenter without special review
0	suspension
0	permanently dismissed
Total	<hr/> 83

The two actions of suspension included in Table 8 were both taken for disciplinary charges with respect to the disciplinary charges classified as sex misconduct. With respect to these 27 charges of sex misconduct, it should be noted that 3 were closed as not guilty, 15 were closed with no disciplinary action; for 14 there were counseling interviews; 6 were referred for consultation; 11 were placed on probation, 5 were not permitted to enter or reenter the University, and 2 were suspended. The other data included in Table 8 are to be read in a similar manner.

EVALUATION AND FOLLOW-UP OF DISCIPLINARY CASES

At the present time, no evaluation studies involving repeated observations and check-up of individual disciplinary cases are available with respect to college students. It is the authors' expectation and plan to follow up some 2,000 disciplinary cases counseled in the last seven years and, by means of careful evaluative techniques, to determine if possible the outcomes of the disciplinary actions and the disciplinary processes described in this book. Such a follow-up analysis should indicate whether the techniques described herein are effective with respect to the central

objective, namely, the rehabilitation of the individual student himself. At the present time, only a few fragments of data are available for such an evaluation. For example, the data presented in the previous chapter with respect to recidivism, is a case in point. The very fact that so few students are reported to the central disciplinary office for repeated offenses possibly may be taken as one indication of the fact that at least, to state it minimally, such students either avoid disciplinary situations or avoid apprehension following disciplinary counseling. Whether or not students have been permanently rehabilitated is a question that cannot be answered with respect to college disciplinary counseling, any more than it can be answered definitively with respect to juvenile delinquency, or adult penological programs. Such evaluations are needed but are not possible at the present time because of the absence of necessary research data with which to make such evaluations.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have described and illustrated with historical and contemporary materials the types of disciplinary actions taken in universities in respect to different types of disciplinary charges. Our review of disciplinary actions from the medieval period to the present day reveals many persistent and recurring types of actions, as well as many changes in actions, such as the abandonment of flogging, so prevalent in medieval times.

We have also presented, for the first time to our knowledge, a full report on the frequencies of different types of disciplinary actions. Even more important, we have shown the frequency of such actions in relation to the types of disciplinary charges. In contrast with certain earlier periods in higher education, drastic action occurs very infrequently even with respect to behavior once punished very severely. In the next chapter, we shall present in a summary form our concept of disciplinary counseling as a form of social and personal rehabilitation.

CHAPTER VIII

Counseling As Rehabilitation

Disciplinary counseling, as elaborated in the foregoing chapters, consists of reeducating those individuals whose behavior has produced personalized conflict with other individuals or with social institutions. In a real sense such counseling is a type of teaching—teaching students the causes and consequences of their motivations and behavior and also teaching substitute behavior and motivations. But the outcome of this type of teaching is not simple $S \rightarrow R$ learning, it is rather social learning at a complex and sophisticated level of personal development.¹

The determination of effectiveness of this type of counseling in inducing learning of socially acceptable behavior in the disciplinary situation is a problem needing not only elaboration in a theoretical sense but also definitive and evaluative research. In the present chapter some of the theoretical considerations underlying such a structure will be outlined. Such systematic formulation of our concept of disciplinary counseling will provide a tentative framework within which a series of propositions can be tested experientially, clinically, and experimentally.

But first we need to reemphasize our contention that disciplinary counseling is a specialized type of general student counseling. We turn, therefore, to a brief consideration of that important area

¹ O. H. Mowrer and Clyde Kluckhohn, "Dynamic Theory of Personality," Chap. 3, pp. 78–85, in *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*, edited by J. McV. Hunt, The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1944.

of student personnel work to introduce the later hypothetical formulations of disciplinary counseling.

WHAT IS COUNSELING?

Counseling has been defined as a face-to-face situation in which, by reason of training, skill, or confidence vested in him by the other, one person helps the second person to face, perceive, clarify, solve, and resolve adjustment problems. We are not here concerned with the philosophical or methodological differences between the various schools of counseling theory, the so-called directive, nondirective, eclectic, or others. Nor does the counseling process, as herein defined, need to be restricted to interview and emotional therapy alone; it rather includes all efforts on the part of both counselor and client to face, clarify, and solve problems. In short, then, counseling is a process which aids an individual to progress in personality growth and integration.

To describe counseling as a teaching method, as was done previously, is to raise a number of questions about its nature. Before the validity of such a definition is established it must first be demonstrated that counseling does actually bring about changes which are claimed in that definition. In that sense the above definition, until proved by scientific research, is only a tentative formulation. It is pertinent, therefore, at this point in our discussion to evaluate the evidence which substantiates or refutes the general definition of counseling.

Research in the Evaluation of Counseling

The first major hypothesis implied in the above definition is that counseling is effective as a means of rehabilitation. Research on this hypothesis has not been pursued with the vigor which seems desirable in terms of the tremendous momentum that counseling has achieved in the past few decades. Despite the scarcity of studies, we must turn to a brief review of studies in evaluation of counseling. We shall see that research has rather been fragmentary and specific to other types of criteria than rehabilitation. That is, evaluation studies thus far published do not utilize the criterion of changes produced in disciplinary misbehavior.

Thus we learn that Abramson² discovered that those students choosing a professional goal were the least likely to change their plans after seeking advice about educational planning. Those who planned to enter college with the purpose of preparing for semiprofessional and managerial work tended, after counseling, to reorganize their occupational choices to appropriate and realistic levels. These findings indicate that the amount of status aspiration involved in a vocational choice may well modify the effectiveness of counseling.

In a study of a different type involving a different criterion of effectiveness, Aldrich³ studied two groups of freshman girls, using one as a control group and the other as a group the members of which participated in individual social counseling and also in directed participation in the extra curriculum. On the basis of reports from questionnaires about college activity participation and also on the basis of differences in scores on a personality scale, Aldrich concluded that this type of counseling produced some degree of improvement in the social adjustment of the experimental group.

Turning now to a third type of evaluative study of counseling, Hunt⁴ and Stott⁵ in England have reviewed the Birmingham Studies in the evaluation of vocational guidance. In these studies a series of careful experiments showed that young students, who were given vocational counseling, made more successful employment records when recommendations of the counselor were followed than when they were ignored in favor of the individual's occupational choice held prior to counseling.

² Leonard S. Abramson, *Relation of Environmental Factors to the Level of Occupational Choice and to College Attendance: 49 cases of the St. Paul (Minnesota) Jewish Welfare Association Vocational Service*, 175 pages (master's thesis on file in the University of Minnesota Library), University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, June, 1944.

³ Margaret G. Aldrich, "An Exploratory Study in Social Guidance," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, Vol. 2, pp. 209-216, April, 1942.

⁴ E. Patricia Hunt, "The Birmingham Experiments in Vocational Guidance," *Occupational Psychology*, Vol. 17, pp. 53-63, April, 1943.

⁵ M. B. Stott, "The Appraisal of Vocational Guidance," *Occupational Psychology*, Vol. 17, pp. 6-16, January, 1943.

In a fourth type of evaluation study, Williamson and Bordin⁶ compared a counseled group of students with a matched non-counseled group on two criteria, degree of adjustment and college grades. The study revealed that students who had been counseled were likely to be better adjusted than were those who had not been counseled. Four-fifths of the counseled group achieved satisfactory adjustment as compared with two-thirds of the non-counseled students. The latter group tended to follow through more consistently with their plans than the former even though less satisfactory results were likely to occur. Counseled students on the average made better grades in classes than was true of the noncounseled groups. The effects of counseling were evident at the end of one school term but additional differential effects were not found during the remainder of the freshman year. The duration or long term effect of counseling is not yet clearly understood or established.

Evidence is also to be found in other areas than student counseling of satisfactory progress made by clients. Kessel and Hyman⁷ followed up 33 cases referred by them to accredited psychoanalysts. Thirty per cent of these patients were helped or cured by analysis; 21.5 per cent became worse or committed suicide; and the remaining 48.5 per cent were either unchanged, cured by techniques other than psychoanalytic, or cured by what was probably a combination of environmental change and psychoanalysis. The authors of the study did not agree in all cases with the amount of improvement judged by the patients and the analysts to have occurred. The average cost, about \$1,500 per patient, was believed to be too high and it was further believed that less extensive therapy might have achieved approximately the same results. Nonetheless some improvements resulted in many cases.

A comprehensive statistical summary of evaluative follow-up studies of patients given psychoanalytical treatment has been pro-

⁶ E. G. Williamson and E. S. Bordin, "Evaluating Counseling by Means of a Control-Group Experiment," *School and Society*, Vol. 52, pp. 434-440, November 2, 1940.

⁷ Leo Kessel and Harold T. Hyman, "The Value of Psychoanalysis as a Therapeutic Procedure," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 101, pp. 1612-1615, 1933.

vided by Knight. The following composite of Knight's tables is quoted from Appel.⁸

Turning from evaluative experiments to reported clinical experience, we note that most clinicians are convinced that they have more or less helped a great many of their clients. But such testimony is modified by our knowledge of the psychology of conviction and this would lead to the prediction that clinicians who were

TABLE 9 COMPOSITE TABLE ON PSYCHOANALYTIC THERAPY

	Number of cases	Broken off	6 Months or longer	Ap- parently cured	Much im- proved	Per cent AC MI	Im- proved	No change or worse	Per cent I NC
Psychoneuroses	534	151	383	125	117	63.2	110	31	36.8
Sexual disorders	47	14	33	12	4	48.5	18	4	51.5
Character disorders	111	28	83	13	34	56.6	25	11	43.4
Organ neuroses and organic conditions	55	23	32	15	10	78.1	6	1	21.9
Epilepsies	10	5	5	1	1			3	
Migraine	1		1	1					
Stammering	15	3	12	3	3		3	3	
Chronic alcoholism	28	9	19	3	4		7	5	
Psychoses . .	151	59	92	10	13	25.0	37	32	75.0
Totals	952	292	660	183	186	55.9	201	90	44.1

not convinced of the value of their work would abandon the field altogether, thereby producing a selective factor in the use of the clinician's own conviction or judgment as a criterion of effectiveness of therapy.

In psychiatry it is axiomatic to anticipate that many types of treatment produce cures or the illusion of cure in some cases. Steiner's⁹ study of quacks and unlicensed practitioners also indicates that people believe they are helped by consultants of this kind. Whether the improvement is real or fancied one cannot say but the fact that people pay fees even to identified quacks probably helps to sell them the idea they have gained something.

⁸ Kenneth E. Appel, "Psychiatric Therapy," Chap. 34, p. 1154, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*, edited by J. McV. Hunt, The Ronald Press Company, New York.

⁹ Lee R. Steiner, *Where Do People Take Their Troubles*, pp. XIII+265, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1945.

Few people like to believe, though some will ruefully confess it, that they have been deluded.

By whatever criterion advanced or insisted upon, research, clinical experience, and common sense indicate that some improvement does take place in counseling and therapeutic situations. What the nature of the improvement is, how much occurs, and under what conditions—these are questions still to be definitively answered. Likewise the precise techniques by which certain kinds of problems can be best treated and, conversely, the limitations of each method, and what kind of problems improve best under certain techniques or methods, are problems yet to be studied experimentally.

One certain conclusion from the available data is that there seems to be no single answer to the questions involved in the evaluation of the variety of types of counseling problems. Maladjustments are not of unitary types but rather develop from many kinds of psychological situations. The answers in effective therapy then must be found by studying differentially specific counseling problems in relations to specific counseling techniques. And this is an as yet unexplored area of evaluation.

SPECIAL DIMENSIONS OF DISCIPLINARY COUNSELING

Before proceeding to our discussion of the theoretical structure of disciplinary counseling, it seems desirable next to review and restate in summary form the major dimensions of disciplinary behavior and of the related counseling. Five dimensions will be discussed: *the guiding principle; the typicality of disciplinary behavior; institutional origin of discipline; safety valve of student activities; and the compulsory nature of disciplinary counseling.*

The Guiding Principle

A basic dimension in any counseling point of view is the underlying philosophy of education in a democratic society. In the present case, the student personnel point of view is the undergirding thought structure of our concept of disciplinary counseling. Adherence to this educational philosophy makes it incumbent upon the institution to regard the student as a dynamic and total personality in process of development, and not as a fragmented or

fragmentable individual. Moreover, by this point of view, the student is viewed as, and his efforts evaluated in terms of his status as, an apprentice learner and not as an adult worker-producer in a social or economic enterprise. Thus it follows that, for example, his problem behavior is not evaluated as that of a matured, educationally completed adult but as a beginning learner. Likewise his misbehavior is not viewed as separable from his religious, spiritual, or moral values, nor from his social, scholastic, or residential experiences. In like manner his financial condition and his health are as much a part of him as his tongue with which he talks or his arms with which he works. Fragmentation of these parts of the individual student in *any* kind of counseling tends to inhibit, if not suppress, the individual's unified growth and integration.

Typicality of Disciplinary Behavior

In an earlier chapter it was emphasized that not all students guilty of misconduct or delinquent behavior are apprehended and it is not necessarily desirable that they should be. It seems quite clear that many, if not all college students (and probably many members of our population at large), have at many times in their lives behaved in ways which were at variance with the law or with social mores. Thus a special dimension of disciplinary behavior pertains to the extent to which such behavior is typical or representative of those individuals classified as nondelinquent.

If such deviate behavior had been detected, many such individuals would have been classified as delinquent in terms of both social and legal criteria. Kinsey and his associates¹⁰ in their taxonomic survey of sexual behavior have shown rather conclusively that sexual experience is by no means limited to married men—laws, statutes, mores, and morals to the contrary. Although no such comprehensive data are currently available for the sex behavior of women, the trend may well be in the same direction.

Some facts about the premarital sex experience of women are, however, available from the data of Terman.¹¹ His investigations

¹⁰ Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 1948.

¹¹ Lewis M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, p. 330, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938.

show that from 22 to 26 per cent of his sample of married women had experienced premarital intercourse. Terman's subjects were selected from upper socioeconomic levels; and if Kinsey's proposition is true, namely, that the prevailing mores of the upper educated class do not operate effectively in the lower socioeconomic levels, one might expect to find a larger proportion of women who experience premarital intercourse in a more random sampling of the general population. Another factor which might increase this percentage of women is the inclusion in a general sampling of nonmarried and divorced women. The over-all proportion for college women classified in such a way, however, would probably be lower because their average age is rather young and because they tend to be selected from the middle and upper socioeconomic levels. Kinsey¹² has shown that for college men, petting and other forms of substitute behavior supplant intercourse to a considerable extent. If this is true for male youth, it is also undoubtedly true for their companions.

Sex, however, is by no means the only type of socially disapproved behavior which occurs frequently among college students and others. Porterfield¹³ studied the records of 337 college students, alleged not to be legally delinquent, enrolled in three north Texas colleges. The subjects included 100 men and 137 women from whom preenrollment behavior data were secured, and 100 men at a later date from whom both precollege and college behavioral data were secured. These students were questioned with respect to the possible committing of one or more of 55 types of offenses which had been charged against 2,049 delinquents (not including the 337 college students) actually brought into court. The offenses or charges varied from shooting spit balls at a wrestling match to murder. When the subjects were classified into three groups, precollege and college men and precollege women, Porterfield found that *each individual student reported committing at least one of these 55 types of offenses*. The average number of offenses reported for the three groups were precollege, 17.6, college men, 11.2; and college women, 4.7, respectively. When

¹² Alfred C. Kinsey, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

¹³ Austin L. Porterfield, *Youth in Trouble*, Chap. II, The Leo Potushman Foundation, Fort Worth, 1946.

the students were classified by educational class, family income, athletic experiences, class officers, honor students, and the like, Porterfield found 100 per cent of each subgroup, both male and female, admitting to at least one of these offenses. Nevertheless, only a very small per cent of these students had ever been legally charged with any offense, according to their personal reports.

While many of the above offenses were minor in character—for example, disturbing church, slipping into theater, and miscellaneous mischief—it should be recalled that many noncollege juveniles from the general community had been taken into court on similar or even identical charges. It is true that the precollege and college students had been charged with such offenses as violations of traffic laws which constituted 5 of the 55 offenses; but on only three other offenses—drunkenness, homicide (negligent), and miscellaneous—did they appear in court. On such serious offenses as attempt to rape, indecent exposure, homicide (murder), and homicide (negligent), precollege men reported their guilt to the investigator but only in the last of these categories was any individual charged with an offense. Extramarital coitus was reported by 58.5 per cent of precollege men, .07 per cent of precollege women, and 59 per cent of college men. Two and two-tenths per cent of precollege women reported indecent exposure and almost one-fourth of all precollege men and college men also reported this offense. Eleven and four-tenths per cent of the girls brought into juvenile court had been charged with extramarital sex relations and none with attempt to rape or indecent exposure. *Less than one per cent of the juvenile court boys were charged with any of these three offenses.*

Precollege students reported, to the extent of 14 per cent, the practice of carrying concealed weapons. Five-tenths per cent were guilty of homicide (murder) and .5 per cent homicide (negligent). The latter, apparently one case, was taken to court on this charge but none of the other cases were given legal or court review. In summary, Porterfield¹⁴ writes. "The similarities in the behavior of the two groups are not unfathomable. Delinquents are not a sub-species of *Homo sapiens*; neither are they the 'best' citizens."

¹⁴ Austin L. Porterfield, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Taken together the above studies and surveys indicate that a substantial proportion of college students and others have probably engaged in behavior which is unacceptable. Almost every clinician can find confirming data in his confidential case reports.

In the light of this orientation it becomes important to look upon apprehended offending college students with appropriate discrimination. Some will exhibit the traits and personality structure of the habitual or pathological delinquent. Others who may commit similar offenses are essentially normal and typical students and differ from those who are not caught primarily in the fact that *they are* caught. The prognosis for such students would be relatively good under appropriate counseling. If, however, they are treated as typical delinquents, they may lose self-respect, change their personal values, and thus lower the probabilities of effective rehabilitation. If public disgrace ensues upon misbehavior, they may be diverted, or forced into, more pronounced or crystallized delinquent patterns of behavior.

From the foregoing discussion the concept of typicality emerges as a basic factor in disciplinary counseling. The *relativity of acceptable behavior* is clearly apparent and a sharp discrimination between the behavior of those students who are apprehended and the behavior of those who are not cannot be maintained. We need not reemphasize that our contention on this point does *not* involve advocating the condonation of any type of misbehavior.

Institutional Origin of Discipline

The number of factors involved in a dimension of disciplinary counseling herein called institutional origin, relate to the rules and mores of the college, its attitudes toward students and student programs, and the nature of the counseling and personnel programs. These factors affect disciplinary counseling process in two ways. They may first of all determine to a major extent the number of disciplinary situations that will occur, and they may affect the flexibility of the counselor in the treatment of rehabilitation process by delimiting possible manipulations of the environment.

The more rules and regulations enacted by the college, the more likely infractions are to occur. The ratio may not be arithmetical

because youths in late adolescence are perhaps more impelled than others to break regulations as a derivative of their general striving for independence from adult rule. Most college administrators are familiar with the student who insists upon knowing just how far he can go in his freedom of action or speech before he violates some regulation. If sharp demarcations between the acceptable and unacceptable behavior could be established, the answer to such questions might be somewhat more easy to formulate. But one difficulty lies in the fact that, to a counselor, there are innumerable shades of gray between black and white.

In some institutions such shadings of behavior categories issue forth in a highly detailed list of "do's and don't's," thought to be the best way of controlling the social and personal behavior of college adolescents. This regulation concept of social control is usually accompanied by a feeling of compulsion on the part of the institutional leaders to couple to such a behavior list, specific or graded penalties such as those referred to in Chap. VII. But, in place of behavior control, the enforcement of so many laws in itself introduces overwhelming problems of supervision and policing. If, on the other hand, such regulations are to be disregarded and used only when occasion demands, they lose their purpose. The problem of codification and periodic restatement, in order to avoid being overburdened with out-of-date restrictions, is in itself a task with which any college administrator ought not to be weighted. In fact no one should be thus burdened.

The most important reason for having a few broad policies rather than a large number of such detailed regulations or ordinances derives from the college's basic purpose. This primary purpose is to help students grow into adult maturity and thus learn to assume responsibility. But students do not learn to think for themselves if every step through college is predetermined by formalized rules. Every educator knows that students learn only by exercising judgments, *some of which inevitably will be wrong*, and by assuming and evaluating the consequences or outcomes of such judgments. Such judgments are indeed appropriate lessons for the student to learn, even though they are not listed in the rule book and do not carry credit toward a college diploma.

In addition to the number and specificity of rules of behavior,

disciplinary counseling is conditioned by the attitudes of the faculty and administrative officials toward students, individually and collectively. Those deans and professors who believe that students should "sink or swim," probably will not be kindly disposed toward a counseling rehabilitation program for delinquent students. Likewise those who believe that the school's only function is to train the mind will similarly hold that such rehabilitation is folderol.

The sympathetic teacher, however, who assumes counseling to be a teaching responsibility, is more likely to be aware of counseling facilities and to use them when confronted with problems, even discipline, which seem to require professional attention. These teachers are more likely to understand the psychology of youthful revolt, or at least to be sympathetic toward the resulting behavior. The college that has such a faculty is more likely to have a *permissive* atmosphere rich with in-and-out-of-class teaching opportunities for the student to express himself and to work out his personal adjustment problems arising from that quest for emancipation which accompanies adulthood.

Another institutional factor increases or decreases the amount and type of disciplinary behavior; that is, the type of institution, public, private, or of a specialized variety. The state or municipal university which admits students from many levels of social, economic, and educational background, by its very nature incurs risks and assumes responsibilities that may be administratively diminished in a private college which narrowly restricts its clientele in terms of certain characteristics of students.

A final factor, and one of considerable importance, is the degree of development of the institution's student personnel program. Interested and well-trained counselors in residences, others working in the fields of social and recreational activities, finance, and employment, general student counseling, and mental hygiene services—all these and others not only aid in the therapeutic program for delinquent students but also serve to identify and refer students before serious delinquency situations arise. In this respect a strong and varied counseling and personnel program serves a strategic preventive function and, in addition, provides resources for the therapeutic management of disciplinary cases when they occasionally do arise.

Safety Valve of Student Activities

Social and recreational programs serve not only to utilize constructively the energies of students but also to satisfy other needs which are conducive to desirable mental hygiene. Both campus and community resources contribute in varying ways to this fourth dimension of disciplinary counseling.

The organized, structured, and supervised student activities provide rich opportunities for constructive development in social, political, religious, and athletic activities as well as for hobby pursuits such as photography, flying, or skiing. Fraternities, sororities, and clubs of various kinds also offer more or less systematic training in leadership, in group cooperation, and in the development of effective human relationships. Informal campus activities, such as those organized through the student union, provide opportunities for nonrecurring or seasonal activities. In this category are found dances, dancing lessons, winter outings, overnight bicycle trips, and the like. Here also are to be found opportunities for committee work and related training which does not grow out of passive group membership and which may be experienced to a greater or less degree in accordance with the individual's needs and available time.

The social-recreational facilities of the community in which the college is located offer few, if any, of these constructive, educational opportunities. But these facilities do provide, on the other hand, some desirable types of recreation which may not be found on the campus. Certain kinds of athletic events, park facilities, movies, and theatrical or artistic facilities abound in metropolitan districts. The college located in a large city will find its students engaging more or less regularly in these kinds of entertainment which few colleges can match.

The value of such community and commercial recreation is often found in the mental hygiene aspects of social anonymity. Adolescents and young adults often feel keenly the desire to get away from family or friends and to experience new things in an environment where their identity becomes submerged. Zorbaugh¹⁵ has described vividly this desire and the unhappiness

¹⁵ Harvey Warren Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929

which sometimes results when the fulfillment of this need becomes an end in itself. Off-campus night life furnishes some enticing opportunities for temporary and balanced fulfillment of this need. Parks, playgrounds, and museums serve also in this respect; although they may have a higher degree of social approval, they may not necessarily be patronized as frequently as are the enticing night-life facilities. But all such opportunities for entertainment help to reduce tensions and to meet genuine needs for anonymity. In turn, they reduce the massing of students in a few places on or near the campus—a factor which sometimes leads to rowdiness or uncontrolled mob behavior. Where such community facilities serve to meet normal developmental needs and to help in the prevention of riotous behavior, they are to be welcomed, encouraged, and openly utilized *with explicit approval of the college*. Although statistics are lacking, the authors believe the college situated in an isolated or small community faces additional problems which the better types of recreation could ameliorate to a considerable extent.

The real problem facing a student personnel worker, as concerns discipline, consists of finding appropriate ways to utilize both the students' and the community's recreational resources for the individual and collective welfare of students. The normalcy of adolescents' outbursts and behavior needs to be recognized and the disruptive energies diverted into socially structured channels, in order to facilitate individual growth and development toward normal adulthood rather than toward atypicality or social stigmata.

The Compulsory Nature of Disciplinary Counseling

A final point, the fifth dimension, will close our summary description of disciplinary behavior and of the related counseling. The student who gets into trouble is required to account for his behavior and to assume responsibility for its consequences, factors which materially modify the counseling aspect of discipline. In all other types of counseling the intrinsic relationship is conceived as a voluntary one in which the student *seeks* aid in the resolution of his problem. In a disciplinary situation, however, the student is under compulsion to evaluate his behavior and his motives, and, at

least to some degree, to modify his behavior. The problem in *effective* disciplinary counseling is *how to use the disciplinary conflict situation to motivate a student to desire to learn more acceptable ways of behavior*, a topic which will be analyzed in a later part of this chapter. Our concept of this aspect of discipline highlights the basic difference between the disciplinary program described in this volume and those disciplinary methods traditionally used in high schools, colleges, and universities. Such a contrast raises many basic questions concerning the reorganization of personality structure and it is now appropriate to turn to a consideration of some of these problems.

DISCIPLINARY COUNSELING EFFECTS REHABILITATION

It is generally assumed that counseling is an effective method of helping students to face and resolve personal problems. College personnel workers, however, are not the only group of therapists who make such assumptions, psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, and social workers make similar assumptions. Some research evidence, briefly reviewed above, tends to validate these assumptions. Nevertheless all of the data bearing on this hypothesis are not yet in hand. Therefore it seems desirable to formulate a hypothesis about counseling as rehabilitation, from which propositions can be deduced which in turn can be tested experimentally. In this particular instance emphasis will be placed upon the type of counseling associated with disciplinary programs.

The major hypothesis¹⁶ advanced in this book may be expressed as follows:

In disciplinary situations, the counseling process helps the individual to face and gain insight into the consequences of his delinquent behavior, aids him in understanding the motivations and behavioral patterns which underlie his social conflict, and assists

¹⁶ Hypothesis is herein defined as "a tentative theory or supposition provisionally adopted to explain certain facts and to guide in the investigation of others" (from *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 5th ed., 1936). This formulation is not a theory in the technical sense as defined in J. H. Woodger, *The Technique of Theory Construction*, Vol. II, No. 5, *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939. Our present knowledge does not permit such advanced considerations of the topic.

him in acquiring that personal growth and integration which facilitates the development of a more socially satisfactory and personally satisfying personality structure. In this sense, the counseling process promotes and effects rehabilitation and is, in its own right, a rehabilitation process. Within its inherent dimensions, disciplinary counseling is rehabilitation.

To provide a blueprint of crucial experiments designed to test this hypothesis of disciplinary counseling as rehabilitation, we have formulated several propositions which are outlined below. Several propositions are immediately suggested which can be used as a basis for evaluative research. The proof of some of these propositions probably lies buried in clinical records which, if systematically organized, could bring to light additional evidence for or against our major hypothesis.

Proposition 1. The first of these propositions may be stated as follows: *If the origin of the disciplinary problem is found in emotional pathology, such as neurosis, the effectiveness of rehabilitation is dependent upon the utilization of the treatment techniques of clinical psychology and psychiatry. Moreover, unless clinical therapeutic treatment is utilized with respect to the underlying and causally related pathology, disciplinary rehabilitation will not be achieved by administrative methods, punishment, restrictions, or by other noncounseling techniques.*

This proposition can be tested for general counseling and psychiatric cases as well as for discipline cases. In all cases the relative effects of the therapy and of chance environmental factors would have to be evaluated. Therapists are aware that some clients seek help from more than one source, that they consult laymen as well as experts in other professions, for example, attorneys. Triggs and Bigelow¹⁷ found that student nurses consulted fellow students more often than they consulted teachers or counselors about problems. These girls reported, however, that the help they received from the faculty and from counselors was considered to be of greater value than was advice from friends. They did not, however, feel that the assistance from counselors and in-

¹⁷ Frances O. Triggs and Ellen B. Bigelow, "What Student Nurses Think about Counseling," *American Journal of Nursing*, Vol. 42, pp. 669-672, July, 1943.

structors was as complete as they would wish it to be. Such a study emphasizes the need for evaluating the relative role which clinical treatment plays in rehabilitation, in comparison with other influences, environmental and others.

In investigations testing the above proposition, both the fact of change and the permanency of changes in behavioral manifestations may prove to be the most important criterion of the effect of disciplinary counseling. For example, an evaluation experiment might seek answers to the following questions: Does the delinquent continue to steal? Does the unfaithful student-husband continue his extramarital exploits? Does the violent, aggressive individual continue to assault his associates? Similar pertinent and appropriate criteria of overt behavior can be established for each case for evaluative review subsequent to disciplinary counseling. Such additional criteria might include the character and degree of tension reduction as expressed verbally by the client. The subjective feeling and the overt behavior may need to be correlated and synthesized in order to ascertain the depth and extent of improvement and cure. These and other factors need to be considered in experimental tests of the above proposition.

Proposition 2. If the origin of the disciplinary and personal maladjustment lies in conditions not involving pathology or abnormality of the individual, then the counseling-teaching of rules, mores, and social behavior becomes the major function of the disciplinary counselor.

For example, the student who gets into disciplinary difficulties because he loans his nontransferable athletic ticket to a friend, in ignorance of regulations to the contrary, differs markedly from another who does the same thing in a spirit of a challenging defiance to the college. The first type of case should show favorable behavioral outcomes if the counseling interview takes the form of friendly and individualized teaching about rules, regulations, and customs. If the interview is broadly based and conceived, the net result should be that the student has acquired sufficient information and understanding to avoid further difficulties in other areas of life, or at least he would possess the knowledge of where to get additional information about other laws and mores. In contrast, the second case should be treated in line with Proposition 1.

Proposition 3. If the focal point of the disciplinary difficulty lies in the social pathology of the environment, and not in personal pathology of the individual, appropriate techniques, such as environmental manipulation, constitute the indicated counseling method and should effect favorable outcomes.

To wit, the student who lives in an undesirable rooming house or who associates with an antisocial group of students may be assisted to move to a more appropriate residence with the result that he should be able to avoid the initial type of difficulties. This example is one that might not easily be found in pure form, because the student might adapt himself to the social psychology of his original living situation. If such were the case, some attitude therapy might be needed in addition to the environmental manipulation. If such a technique as assisting the student to move from the residence were not feasible, then the counseling might assume the form of working with the residence owner and with other students to improve conditions in the original residence. This approach would be analogous to social case work in the community. Additional counseling might take the form of counseling the householder or students whose problems would be dealt with under Proposition 1. Parallel situations could undoubtedly be found outside the realm of discipline and, in either instance, case data would contribute to the testing of the hypothesis.

Proposition 4. Punishment, or other administrative action, may be evaluated as an effective method of rehabilitation of students in disciplinary situations, in contrast with the effects of counseling methods. This proposition is a restatement of the problem of determining whether punishment, or any other method of dealing with disciplinary situations, will deter or prevent the recurrence of the same or similar disciplinary behavior, in the student involved or in the case of other students.¹⁸ If changed behavior is the desired outcome of disciplinary counseling, then research is much needed to determine whether punishment is effective in producing such an outcome. If the behavior in question recurs following punishment, then punishment has not proved equivalent, in intensity, potency, or relevancy, to the impulse or condition which caused the misbehavior. With modifications, the experi-

¹⁸ For a discussion of punishment in the light of modern theories of learning, see Mowrer and Kluckhohn, *op cit*, pp. 78-85

mental design developed in studying in animals the equivalence of stimuli of sex, hunger, pain, and thirst could be used to test this proposition: Does punishment deter or prevent misbehavior (what types and conditions) more effectively, less effectively, or equally in comparison with counseling methods?

Proposition 5. The prevailing mores that apprehended misbehaving students should feel and exhibit attitudes of remorse, moral guilt, or repentance should be tested to determine the extent to which such feelings and exhibitions are profoundly related to depth of perception and functionally related to effective rehabilitation. Currently the mores of our culture require, in high school and college as well as in society at large, that students who commit misbehavior of any kind shall confess their sins, put on sackcloth and ashes, verbally express contrition, make an admission of guilt in being a disappointment to one's self and to others, and then further expiate for the misbehavior by submitting to punishment of some type. If the feelings, expressions, or punishment are omitted from the handling of misbehaving students, then many educators feel quite sincerely that there are no possibilities for rehabilitating the individual offenders.

Now the authors would not argue for a type of treatment which permitted the individual to escape from consequences of misbehavior. Neither would they argue against deep perception of the undesirable consequences of unacceptable behavior, or against the desirability of inculcating in the student a positive desire to do that behavior which brings desirable consequences and thus avoids undesirable effects and results. But, from the point of view of a scientist who wishes to test and validate his implicit assumptions and hypotheses, it is necessary to formulate and test such a proposition. Hence we say: What is the function or effect in rehabilitation of induced or of self-initiated guilt feelings? Are such feelings valid signs or indicators of deep insight into cause and effect in human behavior? Are such feelings valid predictors of effective rehabilitation? Is the feeling of guilt identical with the deep perception by the student of cause and consequences in human misbehavior?

It must be made explicit again that the purpose of disciplinary counseling is *not* to make or aid or induce or persuade students to feel and to express verbally guilt or contrition. The purpose is

rather to aid students to discover and adopt acceptable substitute behavior for that which is unacceptable. The crux of Proposition 5 is, therefore: What is the nature of the relationship between feelings of guilt, and verbal expressions thereof, and the rehabilitation process? Is the relationship a causal one, a concomitant one, an epiphenomenal one, a chance variation one, or an irrelevant one?

Upon the *verified* answer to these questions will rest the case for or against the current practice in some institutions of imposing a light punishment if the student voluntarily admits his guilt and expresses deep feelings of contrition; and, in other cases, imposing a double or extra heavy sentence for the original offense and for the extra offense of failing to admit guilt voluntarily, and finally for stubbornly refusing to exhibit contrite behavior or for brazenly maintaining a defiant and uncooperative attitude. In many such unpublicized cases, either the disciplinarian assumed that rehabilitation was significantly furthered by an exhibition of contrition, or the verbal expression of such an attitude, or else he was acting upon the assumed moral code that the absence of guilt feelings and a spirit of contrition are in and of themselves serious forms of misbehavior. In either case, we present Proposition 5 to stimulate research and critical review of implicit assumptions now underlying some instances of practice in disciplinary control of misbehavior.

Proposition 6. Counseling as therapy can be no more effective under disciplinary conditions than under nondisciplinary conditions, and possibly not as much so, if the condition of permissiveness materially affects the outcome of therapy. This is to say that disciplinary counseling may prove to be less effective than other types of counseling, because of the necessary coercive conditions under which it must take place. But it should be noted that we are *not* contending or agreeing that no degree of effectiveness of counseling is possible in disciplinary situations. We are rather suggesting that an upper limit of effectiveness may be inherent in the disciplinary type of relationship.

A permissive atmosphere has been prescribed by Rogers¹⁹ as an

¹⁹ Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1942.

essential requirement for therapy. Nevertheless, it is certainly possible that permissiveness is a degree phenomenon and not all-or-none. Rogers himself recognizes this, at least implicitly, by restricting the length of the interview to one hour. The child therapists²⁰ who belong to essentially the same school of thought as Rogers also set limits of permissiveness accorded to the client. For instance, the child may not attack the therapist, a restriction on permissiveness.

Proposition 7. Effective disciplinary counseling is possible under nonpermissive conditions. The concept of disciplinary counseling as set forth in this book involves a seventh proposition, namely: Is rehabilitation possible under nonpermissive conditions? Since no, or few, discipline cases want or seek disciplinary counseling voluntarily, we either must try to counsel assuming some degree of nonpermissiveness, or else we must give up use of counseling methods in rehabilitation. The assumption that this proposition is tenable underlies the whole area of child guidance and the clinical methods which it has adopted. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to propose such a proposition for disciplinary counseling with adolescents. The reader is referred to a critical review of a similar proposition analyzed by Thorne in terms of psychiatry and of counseling as therapy.²¹

In discussing reeducation of individuals from the standpoint of utilization of participating roles in new groups representing new standards of behavior, Lewin deals thoughtfully with the same dilemma, namely, how to bring about the necessary and desired reeducation under conditions which are scarcely permissive in that the individual does not wish to give up his old set of values

²⁰ Frederick H. Allen, *Psychotherapy with Children*, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1942.

S. R. Slavson, *An Introduction to Group Therapy*, Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1943.

NOTE: Slavson remarks that limitations are increased as the child's frustration tolerance is increased. This is in itself considered to be of therapeutic value. *Op cit.*, p. 220.

Allen points out that valid limits grow from the situation and belong to it and are not a factor under the control of the therapist. *Op cit.*, p. 72.

²¹ Frederick C. Thorne, "Directive Therapy: XV Pressure and Coercion," *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, Vol. IV, pp. 178-188, April, 1948.

and behavior patterns in exchange for new ones which are judged more socially acceptable. Lewin quotes Allport's dictum on this point as follows. "It is an axiom that people cannot be taught who feel that they are at the same time being attacked" Lewin himself formulates this problem in the following words:²²

Only if and when the new set of values is freely accepted, only if it corresponds to one's super-ego, do those changes in social perception occur which, as we have seen, are a prerequisite for a change in conduct and therefore for a lasting effect of re-education.

We can now formulate the dilemma which re-education has to face in this way: How can free acceptance of a new system of values be brought about if the person who is to be educated is, in the nature of things, likely to be hostile to the new values and loyal to the old?

In searching for a resolution of this dilemma, one may anticipate the objection that the child guidance worker does not, except for court-referred cases, *require* the child to come to his clinic as the disciplinary counselor perforce must. But it is probable that at least some of the children who comprise the clientele of child guidance bureaus do not regard the clinician as a person from whom they *voluntarily* sought aid. Compulsion is in reality an integral and determinative part of such counseling situations, as further analysis will reveal. Indeed, the noncooperativeness and aggression shown toward the clinician in the early contacts of many such cases does not make one feel confident that need was felt by the child for such consultation. The same fact seems evident in cases involving individuals referred to psychiatrists by our courts or brought to psychiatrists by families because of conflict difficulties. The element of compulsion is certainly apparent to the observer and is as frequently expressed by the client himself. Few practicing psychiatrists, however, would refuse to accept patients merely because of this hostility feeling, and, moreover, they attempt therapy in spite of the condition of nonpermissiveness.²³

In the general areas of student counseling, the element of com-

²² Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts*, p. 66, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948.

²³ For an analysis of some phases of this problem, see Thorne, *loc. cit.*

pulsion is also frequently present. For example, students who are failing in their class work are often *referred* to a counselor for vocational or educational guidance. A student who is *required* to consult with an admissions officer or a faculty registration advisor might not have sought out this help if he were free to choose. The student Veterans Bureau where ex-servicemen are *required* to consult before admission to college and where they *must* go in order to get orders for books and supplies or to cancel from school similarly carries out its program of counseling and personnel work in a nonpermissive situation.

The essential problem under consideration here is: How may we determine *what techniques* will produce effective results under nonpermissive conditions? The problem of changing behavior under nonpermissive situations is illustrated by experience in other situations. For example, parents must deal with their children when they misbehave and usually they desire to bring about a more effective and acceptable type of conduct. They hope by their methods to influence and to change the character development of children, even though the children may not request or desire to be thus aided to change behavior. Obviously, the very fact of counseling under such conditions introduces stress into relationships with their children. But the abnormal avoidance of such strain leads to vacillating discipline or to permitting the child to do whatever he wishes to do in an irresponsible manner. Neither horn of such a dilemma is an adequate solution of the problem of rehabilitation because, on the one hand, the child finds insecurity and, on the other, his unchecked behavior may in itself introduce stress into family relationships as well as into those with outsiders.

Proposition 8. Under certain conditions rehabilitation is facilitated by deep insight into the inherent nature and consequences of the delinquent behavior.

The fact that the student has experienced overt conflict with others, or the fact that he may have exposed himself to legal or social consequences which he deems unpleasant, may influence the student to want to do something about his behavior. If he has thought carefully about his future, he may even anticipate the

possible ruin of his career. Thus he may be in a *heightened state of readiness* for professional assistance.

An example of one kind of delinquency which often produces such reaction is found in the problem of homosexuality, although this condition does not inevitably produce rehabilitation. The homoerotic individual is frequently shocked and scared when first apprehended. And, for the first time, he begins to see that the avoidance of detection is not always possible. If he has not completely accepted his current sexual role as a permanent one, he foresees possible arrest at some future time when his career may be ruined by public disgrace. Thus, he is likely to say that he has often wished for the opportunity to consult a psychiatrist. But the fact that he has not done so, or has made only abortive attempts to seek help, may indicate to some extent the deep-seated nature of the problem.

The proposition that rehabilitation may be facilitated when the student is apprehended is not an easy one to test because of the difficulty of securing a control group for comparison of improvement. At least partial evidence about the likelihood of improvement could be secured by considering the amount of cooperation shown by the client in the therapeutic situation. Recognizing full well that the statistical probability of cure in homosexuals is low, it would nonetheless be worth while to compare the amount of relative improvement in a college sample with that known to be probable for an unselected group. Other types of problem behavior, such as stealing to reduce neurotic tensions, might also be studied in the attempt to evaluate this proposition derived from our principal hypothesis.

The above eight propositions, derived from our basic hypothesis, should prove to be provocative of critical review and experimentation. They are presented, not as *obiter dicta* of the truth-carved-on-stone-from-Mount Sinai variety, but rather as tentative formulations of the authors' experiences and of some of the as yet undetermined facts of disciplinary counseling viewed as rehabilitation. Our basic hypothesis will be further critically examined in the next section of this chapter, in which we will examine the psychological foundations underlying our hypothesis.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHANGING MALADAPTIVE BEHAVIOR

In this section consideration will be given to some of the problems involved in the changing of human behavior. The social learning that must precede behavioral changes appears to be a function of three things: the individual's motivation, his stage of personality growth and development, and the techniques which can be used in assisting him to modify his behavior, that is, the situational factor. We shall discuss these three factors briefly.

Motivation

Much has been written in the previous sections about the motivation of the delinquent student, yet it seems desirable to consider further some other aspects of motivation in learning. In discussing the biological basis of motivation Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb have written, "If the general conception of adience is sound, any strenuous and vivid experience tends to perpetuate itself unless specific negative conditioning is present."²⁴ In terms of social learning, we might predict from this principle that the adolescent who experiences a thrill in a delinquent act will tend not only to persevere in other experiences which arouse similar thrills but also, in the absence of any counter motivations to engage in acceptable social behavior, he will, through his perseveration, influence and determine the direction of development of his personality. For example, he may more and more identify himself socially with other similarly thrilled deviate adolescents and thus further resent the efforts of counselors, teachers, and parents to encourage him in the direction of more socially acceptable experiences. With the development of such attitudes, over a long period of time, he may eventually become completely antisocial, and thus become a confirmed parasite on the social body or even a menace to it.

²⁴ Gardner Murphy, Lois Barclay Murphy, and Theodore M. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology*, rev. ed., p. 104, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1937. The authors define "adience" as a "general prolongation of activity in such a way as to increase the fixation of a stimulus-response pattern and to give the organism more and more of what it first gets."

The conclusion of the above-quoted authors seems further justified by the findings of Sears, namely, that failure in a learning situation is likely to be followed by less effective performance in later attempts to learn the same activity or a similar one²⁵ This principle, of course, is related by inversion to delinquent behavior if we interpret failure to learn acceptable behavior as the *positive* learning of unacceptable behavior patterns.

Clinically it has been noted that a crystallized and habituated pattern of delinquency is far more difficult to correct than is behavior which is relatively new in the individual's life experience. And it seems clear that far more expert techniques than we now have at hand are necessary in dealing with such crystallized delinquency patterns. That is, the hardened delinquent is not easy to motivate when one attempts to change his behavior. Apart from the difficulties introduced by such factors as ego status and one's acceptance of one's social role, the very fact that people tend to persist in behavior patterns creates, in itself, a road block to rehabilitation or to change in the right direction.

Still another factor affecting the individual's motivation to change his behavior has been disclosed through psychogalvanic research on emotional responses. This factor is the tendency to regress toward the earlier behavior patterns in time of stress. Of this Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb write, "When deeply moved or traumatized one relives old hopes and fears, one's urge toward standards and values, despite full recognition of their irrelevance to the present life task."²⁶ Realization of this human proclivity leads directly to modification of the methods and techniques available and used to change behavior. It seems quite likely that the use of methods other than the sympathetic counseling approach may well force further psychological retrogression upon the delinquent and thus leave him in a worse position. Clinicians thus must adopt techniques appropriate to the understanding and treatment of that type of behavior which, if unchanged, results in regressive adaptation.

²⁵ R. R. Sears, "Initiation of the Repression Sequence by Experienced Failure," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, Vol. 20, pp. 570-580, 1937.

²⁶ Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb, *op cit*, p. 163.

Growth and Development of Personality

Research in personality development has been steadily developing for years, yet, except for Freud's pioneering work, relatively few systematic attempts have been made to organize this knowledge. Psychoanalytic theory, which has given us many stimulating and penetrating insights into personality structure and development, does not satisfy the psychologist because of the nature and naïveté of explanation.²⁷ Colorful and allegorical but unlocalized and unsubstantiated entities, such as the Id and the Superego, have proved to be useful prescientific concepts but this theory of personality is inextricably interwoven with the clinical method used and we cannot test experimentally the existence of certain dimensions of personality, such as the Id. Indeed French seems to believe, as do many clinicians, that many of the alleged findings of clinical methods are "incontrovertible," a curious instance of "unscientific" thinking in his attempt to contrast clinical and experimental methodological studies of human behavior.²⁸ Because of these and other shortcomings, contemporary psychologists look more favorably upon systematic and objective formulations and syntheses of personality such as those of Allport and Murphy.²⁹ These formulations lend themselves much better to the critical test of research and experimentation.

The principles of personality growth and development are far too complicated to be reviewed in this brief section, but one fundamental concept should be kept in mind as a basic orientation in the clinical approach to disciplinary problems. That is, the personality structure of the human being, rooted in both biological and social factors, is apparently formed in the early childhood years, later to become differentiated and elaborated in multifari-

²⁷ R. R. Sears, "Survey of Objective Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts," Social Science Research Council Bulletin, No. 51, 1943.

²⁸ Thomas M. French, "Clinical Approach to the Dynamics of Behavior," *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*, Chap. 7, edited by J. McV. Hunt, The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1944.

²⁹ Gordon W. Allport, *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation*, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York, 1937.

Gardner Murphy, *Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1947.

ous ways. As a result of this differentiation and elaboration, an infinite variety of patterns are discernible in adults. Even in the late adolescent personality, such as that of the college student, individuation has clearly emerged.

In this differentiation, individual differences are produced and emphasized by social learning. During his childhood and adolescent years the social learning of the individual is influenced to a very great extent by the many groups to which he becomes attached. These reference groups consist not only of the family and church or school classmate groups but also include the casual or organized gangs with which the individual becomes affiliated. Thus the individual's attitudes are formed, modified, and remodified by each successive group he joins and experiences. And the greater the need the individual feels for group-belongingness, the more likely he will accept the mores and morals of his currently at hand group.

These attitudes, which are formed through group loyalties, influence the overt behavior of the individual directed toward social institutions, persons in authority, and other individuals. The complex of these attitudes and the resulting behavior defines what is usually called character. In this connection, Hartshorne, May, and Shuttleworth, and Sherif and Cantril have pointed out the strategic importance of the group or small community in the development of character.³⁰ The results of the extensive researches of Hartshorne and May for the Character Education Inquiry may be summed up in five words. *Character is caught, not taught.*

The implications of this generalization for personality development have great importance for disciplinary counseling as well as for parents who are concerned with training children. In and of themselves, preaching, exhortation, or threats do not usually seem to serve a useful role in forming or re-forming character. Rather must the counselor seek to discover the basic motivations and

³⁰ Hugh Hartshorne, Mark A. May, and Frank K. Shuttleworth, *Studies in the Organization of Character, Studies in the Nature of Character*, Vol III, p. 379, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930.

Muzafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril, *The Psychology of Ego-Involvements Social Attitudes and Identifications*, p. 247, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1947

needs of the individual and to determine how they may be directed and satisfied in socially acceptable ways. It must be noted that delinquent behavior serves to satisfy basic needs or to reduce tension systems as much as do socially acceptable forms of behavior. For most individuals the latter type can come to serve as a satisfactory substitute for the former type under certain conditions. The technical problem in counseling is to help the individual identify appropriate substitute activities and also to teach the student how to utilize them in modifying his behavior in both the personally and the socially acceptable manner.

Thus far, however, our knowledge of substitute behavior and substitute values is greatly limited. As Murphy has said, this is a crucial problem because of the difficulty people have in dealing with those impulses called "temptation."³¹ In discussing the process of canalizing drives, Murphy points out the apparent fact that canalizations are not subject to extinction. Though the individual may have two strong conflicting drives, for example, the drive to get money either through stealing it or through the most socially acceptable way of earning it, yet his decision to adopt one method, say the honest way, *does not necessarily result in an extinction of the drive toward theft*. When environmental circumstances become favorable to the expression of the alternative canalization, the individual may yield to temptation and steal money. In Murphy's theoretical conceptualization of personality, he thus does not find an effective solution for the basic problem of reduction of this second canalization solely by means of the first

As outlined in the writings of Lewin, some research findings of his students help in clarifying this pivotal problem of the extinction of canalizations.³² Lewin, following the lead of Freud's theory of substitution, studied the value of substitute behavior for other behavior which was inaccessible or forbidden to the individual. He concluded that a tension system, involving a goal and the dynamics of reaching that goal, could be reduced effectively when the substitute action represented another way of reaching the original goal. In such a case the substitute value

³¹ Murphy, *op cit.*, pp 298-305.

³² Kurt Lewin, *A Dynamic Theory of Personality*, Chap VI, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1935.

was also considered greater than for the case in which a different or substitute goal was achieved.

Although this contribution does not completely resolve the problem posed by Murphy, it does suggest possibilities for the clinical treatment of such conflicts. As we will see in a later section, Luria has studied techniques which strengthen the individual's resolution or will. The social value (criterion) of acceptability is thereby dominant over that of thievery. Catharsis of the conflict followed by habituation in behavior patterns of honesty should further help the individual to become at least *somewhat* negatively adapted to temptation. But it may be possible that, despite all efforts, the alternative and undesirable canalization is never extinguished. Such a generalization may underlie the fact that man continues unceasingly to fight temptation and frequently relapses into socially disapproved behavior, a conclusion documented by Porterfield's study referred to previously in this chapter.

The following formulation of a theory of personality development based upon current thinking will serve to clarify our understanding of this crucial part of disciplinary counseling:

It was formerly supposed that just as reward is the *sine qua non* for learning, so was "punishment" thought to be essential for inhibition. Punishment was assumed to be the opposite of reward, and just as reward directly strengthens stimulus-response connections, punishment was supposed to weaken them. While it is descriptively true to say that punishment "weakens" a given habit, what happens in such a case can and should be explained on the basis of the principle of reward, without invoking an independent principle. In any situation in which punishment is said to be involved, what actually happens is that a second, more powerful, motive is introduced which demands an adjustment which is incompatible with the adjustment, or habit, upon which attention was originally focused. A *conflict* is thus produced, wherein the reward provided by escape from a new motive is pitted against the reward provided by escape from (reduction of) an original motive. As a result, a new habit is set up which is antagonistic to the old one. In this way, if the new habit is stronger, the earlier habit becomes inhibited, or superseded, but this is not to say that the original habit has been "taken out by the roots," so to speak, or that any process or principle other than that of reward is involved. . . . The basic learning

formula is thus made to account both for those situations in which the likelihood that a given motive will elicit a particular response is increased and for those situations in which this likelihood is decreased.

Not only is reward necessary to the acquisition of a given habit, it is also essential to the continued performance of that habit. Repetition of a response, as such, is now known to have no tendency whatever to make this response more likely to occur on future occasions. In fact, if conditions are such that the response is completely unrewarding, repetition tends to eliminate, or *extinguish*, the response. . . . With continued, nonrewarded repetition of a habit, a new motive is created, namely, *fatigue*, and since the consummatory, or "right," response to this motive, namely, *rest*, is incompatible with the original habit, a conflict situation is created in which the outcome is determined by the same factors that control conflicts in general. . . .³³

Some Techniques of Changing Behavior

Research in specific techniques of changing behavior has not accumulated to the extent of those in other areas of psychological knowledge. Schools and systems of psychology, from psychoanalysis to nondirective counseling, have appeared over the years, each attempting to describe and explain the total adjustment processes of the human being in terms of a part of that whole. In addition, the methods of hypnotherapy and marcotherapy have been the object of intensified interest during the war period; and the former has been the subject of some experimental research during the past twenty years. These techniques, however, are not always accessible or appropriate to a college counseling program. Rather they are tools of clinical psychologists and psychiatrists who work at a different level and in different areas of treatment. Although knowledge of these techniques should not be foreign to the college counselor, they are not properly a part of his repertoire.

But knowledge of generalized processes, while serving perhaps as a useful frame of reference for counseling, does not necessarily provide clinicians with specific techniques. In sharp contrast, the clinical treatment of reading and speech problems has derived its success from specific knowledge of techniques appropriate to the remediation of specific problems. But in the clinical treatment of delinquent students specific methods of known effective-

³³ Mowrer and Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

ness are almost unknown. In view of this condition the type of clinical experimentation performed by Luria and his associates deserves particular attention. Luria, among other studies, concerned himself with experiments and observations on the voluntary (or willful) control of behavior. Of this he writes:³⁴

Our researches convince us that such a control comes from without, and that in the first stages of the control the human creates certain external stimuli, which produce within him definite forms of motor behaviour. The primordial voluntary mechanism evidently consists in the external setting, the production of cultural stimuli mobilizing and directing the natural forces of behaviour. This external auto-stimulation is substituted by an internal one; and the "spontaneous" establishment of the complicated *Quasi-Bedürfnisse* (Lewin's artificial necessity) seen in the adult are a result of the profound cultural reconstruction of the activity depending on the cortical apparatus, without which we could not understand the complex psychological functions. . . . Although the human cannot make a path by virtue of his will power, he is able to follow a circuitous route by acting upon himself just as he formerly acted upon nature, making use of the laws of nature and consciously subordinating them

Luria conducted a series of studies to test the hypothesis that direct attempts to control behavior lead to negative results and, conversely, that mastery of behavior is achieved only by indirect means. He experimented on a variety of subjects, including some abnormal individuals, using punishment, autostimulation, rhythmical pressures, and other stimuli. He also investigated the role of speech in the indirect control of behavior.³⁵ His findings verified the above quoted hypothesis. Luria writes:³⁶

The human is unable to govern his behaviour directly, he creates some auxiliary which acts upon him and makes him automatically accomplish his goal. The problem of the control of behaviour consists in the change of the direct impulsive reactions by those of a complex system, and only in this cultural operation of the employment of auxiliary means, the establishment of stimuli having an opposite effect on the subject, does he find the possibility to control his behaviour.

³⁴ A. R. Luria, *The Nature of Human Conflicts*, pp. 401-402, Liveright Publishing Corp., New York, 1932.

³⁵ Luria, *op cit.*, chap. 12.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 419.

Some implications for disciplinary counseling techniques in changing behavior may be found in the methods described in this book. Luria advised that the person who is directly interested in changing behavior³⁷

. . . include in the reactive process the auxiliary stimulus, which at this time is not a simple stimulus, neither provoking nor inhibiting the movements, [he experimented on motor behavior] *but it shunts the whole reactive process, replacing the direct trials of the arising reaction of choice by complicated, organized acts.* (Italics not in original)

Further experiments with "symbolic circuitry" confirmed his findings on motor tasks.

The results of Luria's experimentation were obtained from relatively simple kinds of behavior but a careful study of his methods suggests further, and perhaps more complicated, tasks for further research. Although the development of general clinical methods, such as, for example, psychoanalysis, is important in seeking to modify human behavior, it is just as important to study the detailed techniques which are part of the over-all method. Luria, to be sure, is not the only investigator who has attacked these problems, but he appears to have made a more intensive study than any other investigator, his findings are more concrete, and his generalizations are moderate but sound.

A second technique of changing behavior is that of conditioning. This technique has been found to be a useful method in handling certain specific types of problems. For example, Jones found that fear in children could be eliminated with a considerable degree of success by direct conditioning and by social imitation.³⁸ Similarly, Razran successfully established favorable attitudes toward modern music by feeding his subjects while playing new and strange music.³⁹ Further examples of specific techniques in changing behavior may be found in the review of experiments by Hilgard and Marquis.⁴⁰ The disciplinary counselor should

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

³⁸ M. C. Jones, "The Elimination of Children's Fears," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, Vol 7, pp. 382-390, 1924.

³⁹ G. H. S. Razran, "Conditioning Away Social Bias by the Luncheon Technique," *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol 35, p. 693, 1938.

⁴⁰ Ernest R. Hilgard and Donald G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning*, Chap. 12, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1940.

read widely in such literature in search of an ever-increasing repertoire of techniques both for clinical practice and for refined experimentation.

Still a third general category of techniques for the reeducation of individuals, including delinquents, may be found in the writings of Lewin. Lewin's methods have developed out of his studies of the adjustments of the individual members of a group with respect to the influence of group processes upon individual members. Nevertheless, some suggestive generalizations may be derived from Lewin's writings with respect to individual counseling. Perhaps a new type of experimentation may arise involving a combination of individual counseling and group adjustment as is exemplified in the writings of those persons engaged in group therapy. Lewin contends that one of the outstanding means involved in reeducation is that of establishing an "in group" feeling in which the individuals accept the values and beliefs of the new group to which he is attached or in which he becomes a member. Lewin generalizes that the probabilities of reeducation are greatly enhanced when such an "in group" feeling is established, in that the individual feels a sympathetic commonality of interests and experiences similar to his own. For example, the movement known as Alcoholics Anonymous seems to be based upon such a fundamental principle. Lewin goes on to say:⁴¹

When re-education involves the relinquishment of standards which are contrary to the standards of society at large (as in the case of delinquency, minority prejudices, alcoholism), the feeling of group belongingness seems to be greatly heightened if the members feel free to express openly the very sentiments which are to be dislodged through re-education. This might be viewed as another example of the seeming contradictions inherent in the process of re-education. Expression of prejudices against minorities or the breaking of rules of parliamentary procedures may in themselves be contrary to the desired goal. Yet a feeling of complete freedom and a heightened group identification are frequently more important at a particular stage of re-education than learning not to break specific rules.

In further analyzing the processes of reeducation of individuals through participating as members in groups representing new

⁴¹ Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts*, pp. 67-68.

ideals, beliefs, and standards of behavior, and through the means of helping the individual to find a new and satisfying substitute role as a member of the group, Lewin states as follows.⁴²

Re-education influences conduct only when the new system of values and beliefs dominates the individual's perception. The acceptance of the new system is linked with the acceptance of a specific group, a particular role, a definite source of authority as new points of reference. It is basic for re-education that this linkage between acceptance of new facts or values and acceptance of certain groups or roles is very intimate and that the second frequently is a prerequisite for the first. This explains the great difficulty of changing beliefs and values in a piecemeal fashion. This linkage is a main factor behind resistance to re-education, but can also be made a powerful means for successful re-education.

SUMMARY

Despite the accumulation of knowledge of both general counseling methods and specific techniques for changing human behavior, we still have much to learn about effective specific methods and also about the processes involved in personality development and integration. Even some of our terminology needs clarification. For example, the term "adjustment" connotes, if not denotes, a static equilibrium which is implied as desirable. With respect to methodology of behavior modifications, we know, of course, that counseling can *alleviate* an immediate problem, or at least modify its symptoms. But we need to explore more searchingly the effectiveness of counseling in assisting the individual to achieve growth and maturation as well as alleviations of symptoms of maladjustment. We focus our attention on counseling and its effects upon personality development since the individual will need to learn methods of self-directed development because of his unceasing facing of new problems of adjustment. The individual must, therefore, learn to face life's problems and to meet them energetically with the best resources at his command. He must learn how to meet unyielding frustration and yet retain his emotional stability. These are some of the long term aids we hope to give the student through disciplinary counseling. Any college

⁴² Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts*, p. 68.

which can teach these priceless attributes to its students whether in disciplinary situations, in the residence, in the classroom, or elsewhere is meeting squarely its obligation to prepare the student for the kind of real world in which he must live. No better statement of this obligation has come to the authors' attention than that of the Hawkes:⁴³

There will be some who do not agree with the thesis developed in these pages. Some contend that the only function of a college is to tram the mind; others feel that the function of the college is to embark on a program of social reform. Some believe that the primary obligation of the college is to make the world fit for men. We believe that the main task of the college is to make men fit for the world. If we are successful in performing this service of building up able men and women who are competent in mind, vigorous in body, tolerant in attitude, courageous in spirit, and cooperative in temperament, we shall have reason to speak our *Nunc Dimittis* with composure.

⁴³ Herbert E. Hawkes and Anna L. Rose Hawkes, *Through a Dean's Open Door*, p. 240, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1945

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Appendix

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CASE 1

Conflict of Culture—or the Veteran Returns with Impediments

D.S. Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Milton Reed

College Institute of Technology Class Sophomore Sex M

A. New Case

1 Complaint or charge: Disorderly Conduct (Veterans' stag party)

2. Date made 2/25/44

3. Against whom: Milton Reed

4. Made or reported by Randall

5. Action: Strict disciplinary probation—counseling, psychiatric treatment

6 Date closed: 4/19/44

7 Date reported to committee 2/29/44

B New charges or case reopened _____

Contact Desk Inquiry 2/26/44

D.S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Milton Reed

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

February 25, 1944. Report was received that a stag party was held last night in a hall above a small grocery store on C Street. The stag was sponsored by some veterans group. On the campus it is said to have been sponsored by the Veterans Club. There were four to five hundred people present. The doors were locked and there were colored entertainers and perhaps white. One of the entertainers was a Negro woman named Carmel. Her last name is unknown. She is currently supposed to be arraigned on a vice charge.

An obscene show was presented including what is known as a "circus." A student who was very drunk staggered out of the audience to participate in the show. It is alleged that numerous Federal and local ordinances were violated including nonpayment of Federal tax, staging a lascivious and obscene show, locking the exits of a place contrary to fire prevention ordinances, involuntarily holding people prisoner. (This is based on the fact that the doors were locked and those who wanted to leave could not do so.)

Donald Randall, who was also known for having been in a drinking party at the Veterans Camp at the Y.M.C.A. last month, was one of the ticket sellers and is known to have canvassed several fraternity houses.

J.D.F.

February 25, 1944. I talked to Randall who is a sophomore in the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts and is twenty-four years old. His home is in Sacramento, California. He spent four years in the army artillery and antiaircraft. He is married and in the process

of getting a divorce. He said he came to the University because he wanted to see what the north country was like. He had learned to ski and wanted to indulge in this further. Randall is a fraternity pledge and a major in humanities.

Randall said that Bob Reed is the only one of the other ticket sellers he knows. He said he thought Reed might have been in charge of the whole show. Randall said he sold about 20 tickets to various fraternity members on campus. He said as far as he knows all of the four or five hundred people in attendance were students.

Randall seemed to have no further information and he gave me this information only when I insisted upon knowing it. *I have placed him on strict disciplinary probation*, told him not to discuss this matter with anyone, and I sent him to the Counseling Bureau to take the multiphasic

J.D.F.

February 25, 1944. Mr. Daniels said that Bob Reed was chairman of the book committee for the Veterans Club and is probably a trouble-maker.

J.D.F.

February 25, 1944. Lowell reported that he had discovered the following information. A fee statement from the University had to be presented in order to secure a ticket. The tickets bore the following inscription. "Veterans Stag" or "Veterans Club Stag—free beer—two blocks north of Mike's Bar." Tickets sold for \$1. There were eight colored women and two colored men in the show. After the first act, which was a dance, the performers began to disrobe in Acts II and III. Act IV presented a variety of homosexual performances. Act V involved a student volunteer from the audience. It was thought that this volunteer was a "stooge" who was planted in the audience. The opinion of some of the people there seems to have been that he was too drunk to have been a "stooge" and probably was a student. He is said to have been too drunk to actually participate in the performance and he played a somewhat passive role drinking beer and smoking a cigarette during Act V.

J.D.F.

February 25, 1944. I had a second conference with Randall, who described the tickets as reading "Veterans Annual Outing—Free Beer—two blocks north of Mike's Bar." He said they sold for \$1. Randall said he was told to collect a fee statement only at the door of the hall. When selling in fraternity houses he did not ask for fee statements but he was the only ticket salesman at the door and he requested

a fee statement then. He said the thing was advertised by word of mouth. Randall also tended bar and said that 3.2 bottled beer and keg beer was served

Randall said that he had been told by Reed from whom he secured the tickets that there would be a regular stag show, but no movies. He said he saw the first part of the show, but did not see the last two or three acts, and said he didn't particularly want to see them. He said there were no movies. He says that during the show he heard that a student was performing, but he could not find out who. Since that time he has heard a rumor that a couple of boys put up \$100 to dare the volunteer. He has not, however, heard any verification of this.

Randall said he first heard of the stag a week ago yesterday when he was approached by Reed who said he wanted him to sell tickets for a beer bust and show. Randall said he had seen a few shows while in the army and he had a general idea of what was coming off. He sold the tickets for \$1 and apparently did not get any commission.

J D.F.

February 25, 1944. I called the grocery store to find out who rented the hall upstairs. I was referred to a person named Caison. A woman answered the phone and said that she and the janitor, Mr. Storm, both make rentals. She said that Mr. Storm had handled this matter and that he could not be reached by telephone at the hall. However, she gave me the telephone number of the house next door to his because he does not have a phone at home. I called trying to reach Mr. Storm, but was unable to do so. I will follow this to find out who made the arrangements

J D F

February 25, 1944 I went to the hall and interviewed Mr. Storm. I did not identify myself, but asked how I could get in touch with the person who was in charge of the party. Another man who was there carrying a suitcase said I should see Bob Reed. Mr. Storm also stated that Reed was in charge of the party. The man with the suitcase said it was a wonder the police weren't called. He said that everybody was pretty drunk and he said the party could be heard all over the corner. When the second man left I asked Mr. Storm who this man was and he said he was the manager of the show and had come to pick up some clothes that one of the women performers left.

J.D.F.

February 26, 1944. I called Reed all yesterday afternoon and evening trying to reach him and this morning finally reached him in class.

He refused to come to the office and I insisted that he must do so or face cancellation of his registration for failing to respond to an official notice. He wanted to talk to Dean Williamson who was not in the office and he wanted to know who Dean Williamson's superior was. He then said he would call the President whose secretary later called and said that Reed had called and she had refused to interfere in the situation. Reed was again notified to come to the office.

Reed came to see me and was in a most belligerent state. I told him that he had been identified as the person who had been in charge of the stag. He said he would make no comment. He said I had better have pretty good proof because he was going to see a lawyer and he would see that a counter suit for damages was started against the University. I told him that a lawyer could not be brought to the Committee meeting (to be held soon) but that a faculty adviser could be brought. He said he was not guilty until he was proven guilty and he would make no statement until he met with the Committee. I told him that he could bring a faculty representative if he wished, but not a lawyer.

Reed was most belligerent throughout the interview. He said he came to the University to go to classes and not to fool around with this "petty two-bit stuff." He admitted that his name was Milton Reed and that he went under the name of Bob Reed, that he was chairman of the book committee for the Veterans Club. He said, however, that he would make no statement about the stag party. He insolently asked for an excuse for missing his class this morning and said he expected to be notified of the committee meeting at least a day in advance.

A committee meeting is being scheduled.

J.D.F.

February 28, 1944. Dean Williamson and I talked to a staff member of the Veterans Bureau who said he knew about four days in advance that this stag was to be held. He also bought a ticket and attended the show but he said he left early. He did not wish to discuss the matter in detail but we discussed with him his responsibility as a staff member to head off such incidents or to see that they were headed off by someone else if he could not do so.

Mr Smythe said he heard today from a former student that this thing was being discussed all over campus and he said he also was told that women students had been at the party. He has heard this from two sources and he has asked one of these boys who is a friend of his to keep him informed about further developments.

J.D.F.

February 29, 1944. Smythe cleared information with the Police Department, but withheld the names of students involved.

J.D F.

February 29, 1944 Minutes of the All-University Disciplinary Committee meeting

The members of the All-university Disciplinary Committee came together to hear the case of Milton "Bob" Reed, a veteran, who had been identified as being the student responsible for a veterans stag which was held in a North Minneapolis hall and at which an obscene show was presented. Attempts on the part of Mr Foley to secure the facts from Reed were unsuccessful due to the unwillingness of Reed to discuss the incident.

Fred Jackson appeared as advocate for Reed. Two other veteran students, Ronald Barton and James Warner, reported to Dean Williamson's office at the time of the meeting to appear also. The Committee first convened to discuss the advisability of allowing students to appear as advocates for Reed. It was thought that Barton and Warner wished to be present to clear the Veterans Club, a recognized student organization, of any involvement. The Committee decided to have all the boys come in to find out what information if any they had to offer and what light they could throw on the subject.

WILLIAMSON: Why do you boys wish to be present?

WARNER: We believe he should have some representation by his friends.

WILLIAMSON: It's not the policy of the Committee or of the President to have students participate in such affairs. The Committee invited you up to discuss this matter of policy and make some sort of ruling in regard to it.

JACKSON: As I understand it, it is satisfactory for some staff member to be with Reed.

JONES: What's the purpose of the presence of you other two gentlemen? Do you have information to provide or are you here to listen?

BARTON: I have no information to give on this thing. I am sure it involves details of which I am not too well aware. I thought some expression of our concern should be made.

WILLIAMSON: Whose concern?

BARTON: Veterans on campus. I'm making no attempt to bring our organization into this thing. It doesn't belong in it. But I think any action which will be taken is going to be felt.

WILLIAMSON: How?

BARTON: Through personal contacts.

JONES: Do you mean he is going to accuse your organization?

BARTON: If some action is taken that is going to result in Mr. Reed's penalization of some sort and that becomes known to a wide number of people, they will feel concern about it

JONES: You mean influence on your organization?

BARTON: No, Reed has friends on campus. The details of any action will be circulated in that group and there might be a tendency on the organization to jump the gun.

WILLIAMSON: What do you mean, "jump the gun"?

BARTON: I'm trying to give my reasons for coming up here—the reason I did come is because I should like to ask that an attempt be made to solve difficulties of this nature in a cooperative and friendly method rather than arbitrary ruling following the established procedure at the University that they may have for ruling of disciplinary cases.

JONES: Do you think we should treat veteran cases in a special category?

BARTON: No, they should be treated as the other students are, but with certain reservations and consideration of the facts that the men, in many instances, haven't had the opportunity to adjust themselves to the desirable outlook toward student activities and . . .

JACKSON: On that point, in a case of this kind, it would be desirable in the case of all students, for that matter, not to come in by themselves.

WILLIAMSON: All students may have their own advocate and they are always informed of this fact—they may ask any faculty member to appear with them.

BARTON: I don't know what type of action the Committee takes. This case strikes me like this: Reed is appearing before this group as the result of some charges made by some persons unknown to me. You people have undoubtedly investigated your sources of information and feel that they are adequate to take action or review this case. My only intention was to request that if possible a less formal method of handling the thing be worked out.

WILLIAMSON: May I point out that this suggested method was tried, and that Reed wouldn't cooperate by giving any information whatsoever. What do you have to say, Mr. Warner?

WARNER: My stand is the same as Mr. Barton's—merely as a friend of Reed and member of the Veterans Club. I'm here as a personal friend just to find out about this, what the charges are and the evidence given, etc.

JONES: The thing I am afraid of in having you here is that it is going

to give the impression that your organization is out to defend any veteran that gets in trouble.

BARTON. We are not here as agents of the organization—I will withdraw any implications on those lines. That is not the impression I wished to get across

JONES: I don't see how we can get any other

BARTON. I'm anticipating that there will be concern felt as an organization on this issue. At present I do not believe there is—at least not openly.

WILLIAMSON: Concern about what happens to Reed?

BARTON: Yes, and concern on the other issue also

WILLIAMSON: It has always been true that a disciplinary action or proceeding of any sort where investigation is made has been between the University and the individual students. When the present policy was first written we stipulated that the student might bring anyone to act as advocate. On numerous occasions we have raised the question whether or not students should be present other than those involved. The Committee may exercise its own judgment about such matters. The reason why the Committee wishes to discuss the matter with you is to see if you have any particular information to contribute or to find out why you felt you should be present. Jackson is a member of the staff and has asked to appear on behalf of Reed. I have Mr. Daniels here and I feel confident that the University would not wish to have the facts of this case discussed extensively all over campus.

JONES: I move that the proceedings be heard without their presence, except in so far as they have information bearing on the charge.

BARTON. It's difficult to know if we have information if we don't know what the charges are.

JONES. Jackson will know if there is any need for more information.

WILLIAMSON. I think we can resolve this problem by saying that your purpose in being here is to see that Reed gets a square deal.

BARTON. Yes, and I would like to see a different method used in handling this sort of thing. I don't think there is a criminal offense involved here. And I don't think you're dealing with an incorrigible

PURDY. Do you have some suggestions as to the manner in which these matters should be handled?

BARTON. I think there should be an attempt to reach an understanding between the parties involved without this formal arbitrary method.

PURDY: What's arbitrary about it?

BARTON. This weighing the evidence pro and con as to whether a student will remain in school. Is that correct?

WILLIAMSON No The Committee listens to *all* evidence and everyone who *has* evidence The Committee then judges as to what is best for the individual and the University. I have suggested to you on other occasions that this is not a Committee whose sole function is to eliminate students from school. I should like to repeat that an attempt was made to follow the informal procedure you suggested without success

BARTON: Well, then, that's all I have to say on the subject.

WARNER I have no further statement to make.

WILLIAMSON (To members of the Committee.) What do you wish to do? Should the friends of Reed remain during the proceedings? It has not been customary They have no further information to give, the motion has been made that we proceed without their presence. Is there further discussion of the question? If not, those in favor of the motion say aye; contrary minded, no. [Unanimously carried.]

WILLIAMSON: (To Barton and Warner) I will be glad to discuss this with you personally at any time.

JONES: You wouldn't *want* this a public hearing, would you? Would you want this broadcast all over the University?

BARTON. If it would bring greater justice Otherwise, no.

(Barton and Warner left the meeting.)

At this point the veterans remaining commented that they felt as though they were facing a "washout board" and the Committee asked them in what way they felt the Committee resembled a "washout board"

REED: By the very fact that we're outnumbered.

WILLIAMSON If you feel you don't get justice, you can appeal to the University's highest authorities, the President and to the Board of Regents.

JACKSON. The name of the board [President's Committee on Students' Discipline] carries the connotation that you're convicted before you come in.

LUND: In what staff or faculty capacity is Jackson here?

WILLIAMSON. He is a part-time staff member and a graduate student

JACKSON: I have no wish to antagonize the board. I only wish to see that Mr. Reed is represented and that he has a little moral support.

MISS BERGE: Where did you get the impression that this Committee would be unfair?

LUND. Does the name of it imply that it is unfair? It has been my impression that the Veterans Bureau wanted all students treated the same as other students Isn't that right, Daniels?

DANTELS (Director of the University Bureau of Veterans Affairs): You're correct in the general statement, Mr. Lund, but I suppose that individual differences among all students would enter into any discussion of discipline. It is only fair that a veteran may have differences which set him off from other members of the student body. This is no basis, however, for changing the procedures of the board. The board is aware of these individual differences.

WILLIAMSON. The board has handled disciplinary cases among veterans before and has proceeded in this same manner. Mr. Foley, will you present the case?

Mr. Foley then presented the case and the following evidence. Last Thursday night a stag was given in a North Minneapolis hall at which an obscene show was presented. Tickets advertised the stag as "Veterans Annual Outing-Free Beer." The price of the tickets was \$1. Tickets were sold on campus, in the Union and perhaps other places. Fraternity houses were canvassed by ticket sellers and in the process of investigation Mr. Reed was identified as the person who was in charge of this stag party. It was felt that from the wording on the tickets the Veterans Club might have been promoting the party, but there does not seem to be any evidence to that effect. Mr. Reed has been identified as the person who made arrangements by reserving the hall in his name and then having the show reserved in his name. When I asked Mr. Reed about these charges that had been made, he said he had nothing to say. He did not care to discuss the matter, and as a result, since this closed any possibility of trying to settle the matter less formally, the matter was brought to the Committee both for investigation and action in the case that any action is to be taken.

WILLIAMSON: Any comments, Mr. Reed?

REED. About that little meeting Saturday, it seemed to me it was one of these Gestapo deals where you walk in and they say if you talk we'll fix you up and if you don't we'll give you a bad deal.

WILLIAMSON: What gave you this impression?

REED. Certain remarks.

WILLIAMSON. What remarks?

REED. This is purely intimation—but I accepted it this way—that any statement I might make would go to hurt me. Maybe I am a suspicious person by nature, but I figured seeing he had so much information, why should I make a statement? Why, he's got me cold. The charge he made to me was that I produced an indecent show. If he has proof that I arranged for the show, hall, and other things—but that's up to the board to decide. I personally don't believe he can prove any-

thing. Possibly he can. It's up to him to try. I'm innocent of the charges

JONES. Technically then, with regard to the charge that you "produced" an indecent show, you're not guilty since you did not actually produce it. That's your position?

REED. Well, this brings up other questions as to what a University student's rights are—whether he has the right to go to this sort of show or know about it.

JONES. How far are you prepared to tell us what you actually did do—without reservation—just what your part in this was? Or do you expect the Committee to prove it?

REED. I expect the Committee to prove it fully because this is definitely a defamation of character condition.

LUND. Was it a stag show? No one present except males?

REED. Yes

LUND. But the performance included both sexes, didn't it?

BERGE. Was the hall hired in your name?

REED. I don't know that.

JONES. What do you mean, you don't know? The impression you give me right now is that you're going to put this Committee up to prove every thing you can and you'll not disclose anything you don't have to. That gives me an unfortunate reaction to the whole case. I would be much more sympathetic toward you if you presented the facts

JACKSON: If you make that type of charge, you have to prove it.

WILLIAMSON: The Committee will hear the evidence and decide for itself.

PURDY: I would like to ask a question. It seems to me that one of the main bones of contention was that you weren't going to get a square deal—that this deal could be fixed up informally without proceedings. How do you reconcile that kind of a position with your attitude? How can we settle this when it is impossible to get any discussion about the true facts?

REED: But the way he went at it. . . .

PURDY: Foley has a right to inquire of you. He wasn't making any accusations, but accusations had been made about you. It's his right to call you in and say "See here, you've been accused of such and such. Now just what do you know about this?" He certainly isn't accusing you or defaming your character by this procedure. He merely asked you what you knew about it.

REED: When I walked into his office, the first thing he said was "This

is very serious." He asked me to make a statement. I don't know—I'm not guilty. That's as much as I know about it.

FOLEY: I asked you if you could clarify this situation. You refused to do so and said, "If you are making any accusations against me, I will sue the University."

REED: You're quoting only parts out of my statement. You didn't say what went on before it. I was busy in class—one I had missed for two weeks as a result of the bookstore's failing to get books and supplies distributed. I'm working alone in the class—it's a big job. The rest of the class is working in couples. My prime duty here is going to class and going through school and getting out of it. During my free time if you have some administrative things to discuss, it's easy enough for you to contact me. I'll still be here tomorrow—I don't intend to skip town. I'm married and have bought a house out south that I don't have to worry about payments on for some time. I want only to finish this quarter when I will go out to manage a construction outfit and come back every summer and fall to school until I have my degree. This couldn't have been considered so urgent or the Committee would have met Saturday afternoon or first thing Monday morning.

WILLIAMSON: When an accusation of this sort comes in it is Mr. Foley's responsibility to see whether those charges are verified. You apparently dispute his right to make any investigation. Mr. Foley made no accusations against you. We're here to determine whether they are true. Have you any comments about these accusations?

REED: Same thing I said before—I am not guilty. I don't see why I should be stuck any more than anyone else.

LUND: What sort of a show was it?

REED: It was for men only.

LUND: Was it such that it would be a reflection on the University?

REED: I don't believe the University had any cause for alarm about it at all. I can say that without reservations.

LUND: Whether you were responsible or anyone else, you don't think it was of a character that was serious.

BERGE: Do you know whether tickets were sold elsewhere than on campus?

REED: I understood that they were.

FOLEY: Did you arrange for other students to sell tickets?

REED: I did not.

FOLEY: Do you know whether or not other students *did* sell tickets?

REED: I don't care to say whether or not I know that any other students had sold tickets.

JONES: Without disclosing names? You would not be implicating them if you mentioned no names.

REED: Yes, others did sell them.

JONES: What did the tickets say?

REED: Veterans Annual Outing--no implication that the University was involved or the Veterans Club

FOLEY: Did you know that the party was arranged for by a student?

REED: It wasn't arranged for University students.

BERGE: Do you deny that you had any part in making the arrangements?

REED: I do not wish to make a statement.

PURDY: Did you make any arrangements?

REED: I don't care to make a statement.

BERGE: I think you've a peculiar idea about what this Committee is supposed to do

JACKSON: With those charges you have to be very concerned, I would say.

DUNPHY: This was not arranged by students?

REED: Any statement I have made will cover the answers to your questions. I'm not going to be stepped on by this Committee or by anyone. Main suspicion in my mind and in Mr. Jackson's mind or in the mind of anyone who has been in the army is that if they don't nail you for anything else they nail you for your attitude. I'm just being very suspicious--that's my nature. You get to be that way in the army. And I think the University is just like the army.

LUND: Don't you think the University is more generous than the army?

REED: The University is very comparable to the army.

PURDY: How is the University like the army?

WILLIAMSON: This has no bearing on the case . . .

PURDY: I know, but I'm interested to hear this.

REED: You want it straight?

PURDY: Yes, I want it straight

REED: Inefficiency is the biggest thing. I think the attitudes of employees of the University whether their status is high or low are comparable to that of a first sergeant. I have no gripes against the faculty in any way--they're very efficient. I have only the highest praise for all faculty members with whom I have come into contact.

PURDY: This is a faculty committee.

JACKSON: It's very hard to switch your attitudes after you get out of the army. For a while you assume it's the same type of thing. It takes

time to become adjusted. I've been back a year and still run into snags

PURDY I don't think anyone would deny these difficulties. We're here to aid in the adjustment of veterans.

DANIELS: I think I understand Mr Reed's point of view. There's an emotional reaction to it. It is true that washout boards, whether or not they were fair, were arbitrary and certainly gave a man no chance to prove anything. He just put in an appearance. The whole thing was cut and dried for him beforehand. Reed's attitude results from the pinning of these accusation charges. I think if we could get back on a fundamental ground here and settle once and for all the fact whether or not accusations are being made or whether this is an investigational board first and a disciplinary board second, we could get off to a better start. It may be too late now. If Dean Williamson would state again the position of the board in regard to this whole thing. No charges have been made. All is implied in the minds of these students.

REED: Then, I wish to withdraw any statement heretofore made.

WILLIAMSON: I don't know what Mr. Foley's language pattern was, but when we discuss these things together he always says that accusations have been made, not that he has made them. It is his responsibility to investigate to determine whether those charges are true and report to this Committee which then conducts its own investigation and takes its action.

REED I wish to request right now that the names be divulged of the people around here who have accused me. If I have enemies I want to know about them.

WILLIAMSON Let's not get tangled up again on the matter of procedure.

REED: I'm merely protecting myself against persons going around making slanderous statements about me.

WILLIAMSON: We're investigating what has been reported. Do you wish to comment about the accusations made against you, namely, that you participated in arranging this party which is judged by report to be indecent and obscene? Did you participate in making arrangements for this party?

REED: Is selling tickets considered participation?

WILLIAMSON: It's up to you to tell us what you had to do with it.

REED: For the time being I will say I attended the stag.

PURDY What do you mean, for the time being? You said you attended and that's all you say. Does that mean that the implication is you did arrange it?

REED: There's no implication like that.

PURDY: Well, did you or didn't you help arrange it? It's a simple question—just answer yes or no.

REED: Sorry, I have a suspicious nature, but I can't change my statement. I wish to leave it as is.

JONES: The status of the thing is that somebody made statements that Reed arranged for this thing, rented the hall. Reed, you're asked what about it, and you won't tell anything.

REED: I'm implicated in this matter—you can draw whatever idea you wish. There's such a thing as credit rating, etc., and establishment of personal character in this town. You realize that something goes on, you can't go anywhere without credit rating. I mean you've got to consider that on this—my name was tied to this and that. . . .

WILLIAMSON: I don't see what you're getting at. You mean your name was used by someone else to hire the hall? Unbeknown to you?

REED: I don't wish to comment on that. Maybe somebody here has a distorted mind. There may be other implications. That's as much as I wish to say.

PURDY: I would conclude what Miss Berge has concluded—that you were asked to go in on this because you have got a credit rating. That's how your name got involved. Is that it?

REED: It's not what I intended to imply—not fully.

WILLIAMSON: Did you sell tickets?

REED: Yes, I did.

WILLIAMSON: Did you arrange with other students?

REED: No.

WILLIAMSON: Did you hire the performers?

REED: No, I did not.

WILLIAMSON: Did you know the character of the performance beforehand?

REED: What do you mean?

LUND: Did you know the type of performance that was going to take place at the time you sold the tickets?

REED: I don't wish to make a statement on that.

JACKSON: You're selling tickets for something you think will be a stag—selling tickets for a stag—what you have in mind as to what's going to happen there is not concrete.

PURDY: That's true. I thought you were going to suggest that certain things probably will happen.

WILLIAMSON: Did you attend the stag last year?

REED: Yes, I did. I hope I will be able to make *this* clear. Last year

and this year are entirely different. I hope you will be able to see that. Last year there was quite a tie-up in some ways with the University. This year there was absolutely nothing to do with the University in any way. University had absolutely no cause for alarm. No dirty linen on the line.

WILLIAMSON: You did sell tickets on the campus?

REED: Yes.

WILLIAMSON: Then there very definitely was a tie-up with the University, definite and undeniable. We do not permit people to put on performances like that. . . .

REED: I was totally unaware of that.

FOLEY: Were you aware of the fact that students at the door had to present a fee statement in order to secure a ticket?

REED: I don't believe that was altogether true. From the implication I got, I don't believe that is true.

BERGE: You're not sure?

REED: I am reasonably sure.

PURDY: Would you be ready to answer this? Was this affair exclusively for University of Minnesota veterans or did it include other veterans?

DUNPHY: This was not planned and organized by University students, but you and other students sold tickets—on campus. Is that it?

REED: That's right. I don't wish to make any statement that any organization was tied up.

WILLIAMSON: Did outsiders make arrangements?

REED: I don't wish to divulge that. I don't want to be . . . it was an outsider. I realize you're investigating me. Nevertheless if what Mr. Foley implied—that the Federal Mann Act and every other Mann act was violated—if this were brought into the open it would be very bad. You never can tell when some member might know about it.

WILLIAMSON: There was nothing that occurred in that performance concerning which the University need have any worry if it became public—is that what you mean?

REED: I can split that up. It's relative. I know sometimes in the army the public would frown on things that went on, but I saw some mighty rough shows, fully protected by M.P.'s. If it became known to the public should the University have any worries? I don't believe the University had anything to worry about at all.

WILLIAMSON: This is your judgment. Others reported it was quite in bad taste and that it was a good thing it didn't get out that University students had anything to do with it, let alone selling tickets.

REED: As I said, it's all relative. I can compare it to rough shows in the army camps.

FOLEY: Would it be put on in a downtown theater for the public?

REED: From what I understand it was not a general public thing.

LUND: If the police had seen the show would they object to it or impose action?

REED: Call up the police and ask them.

WILLIAMSON: What would they know about it now? No more than we. Only those who were there know.

REED: If you're worrying about the police. . . . As far as I know there might have been policemen there, I don't know.

WILLIAMSON: You don't wish to answer Mr. Lund's question?

REED: I don't think police would have objected.

DUNPHY: Do you, Jackson, know what the show was like?

JACKSON: I have heard various things.

DUNPHY: Do you wish to tell us?

JACKSON: It would just be hearsay. As to what actually went on, I don't know.

FOLEY: It was described to me as composed of eight Negro women and men who did a dance act and gradually began to disrobe and that after disrobing had been completed by the women, two women staged a performance which was characterized as obscene. That further in the show somebody from the audience, possibly a student, possibly not, volunteered to participate in the performance and *did* participate in other obscene acts in front of the gathering.

REED: I suggest that Mr. Foley do more investigating.

LUND: Are there other facts to bring out?

REED: Not necessarily—perhaps he went a little too far. I wouldn't care to say. I merely suggest that you investigate a little bit.

JONES: Did these women disrobe?

REED: I don't care to say anything about the show.

FOLEY: You talked about credit rating. Are there any implications that someone not a University student might have used your credit rating as a means to the end of promoting a stag party?

REED: It's up to you to translate it as you wish.

FOLEY: Since these charges have been made with reason to believe they should be scrutinized, do you or Mr. Jackson see that there is any benefit to you in your refusal to discuss these things in detail so that if you are not guilty of the things said about you that you could clear your reputation?

REED: Well, you have mentioned others' benefits. That's up to the

faculty members—I feel that if I don't open up in any way, whatever I might know if I did know anything, that I would arrive at the benefits of a college education at the University of Minnesota.

FOLEY. Did it occur to you that these things all go to make a rather bad impression?

REED. I don't think the impressions make much difference

BERGE. Your pattern of answering questions is interesting. It's yes or no up to a certain point and then when you say I don't wish to say, it sounds as if you mean yes

REED. That's an implication which is purely circumstantial in every respect.

BERGE. You're starting out with the assumption that if these things are true you will be dropped out of school.

REED. I'm merely going again on hearsay. There has been a lot of that spreading around here that people have been entering hearsay as evidence.

BERGE. The Committee is trying to get the facts. You admit it was a show that wasn't too good, not as bad as army shows, but not too good. What we want to get at is whether there is any truth to the statement that you are implicated; not that you should be kicked out of school. But you seem very evasive and noncooperative, unwilling to put your cards on the table. This Committee can't act intelligently then. In addition to disciplinary functions, we consider ourselves an educational part of this institution and our function is not primarily to kick people out of school. That's not what we're appointed for. It has never been our attitude. It's so difficult with you because we never have approached a case with this attitude.

JONES. I got the impression that if he talked about this thing that he would be worse off than if he kept still and let us act on what meagre information we have gathered.

REED. If I knew anything or not, when a person lets go, doesn't it put him in an unfavorable light? If you started talking on a thing whether you were guilty or not if you let go, you would penalize yourself.

JONES. If you came in here and admitted your participation and were straightforward about it, don't you think we would have a more lenient attitude?

REED. I couldn't go so far as to go along with all your statement.

JONES. Your attitude is this. "You [the Committee] haven't got much and I'm not going to add anything to it."

REED. Don't forget there might be such a thing that I might not be the one that would suffer. Other individuals might suffer. I don't

know if I got kicked out of the University that I could come back with any action or if I could get anywhere even if I did. That's neither here nor there, however.

DUNPHY. (To Jackson.) Are you agreeing with Reed that this was not staged by University students, that it wouldn't be serious, that the University need not be concerned?

JACKSON: From what I've heard I would say yes I regret that it's possible for just hearsay to bring such definite charges.

JONES. Everything is hearsay unless we were there.

DANIELS: I may be leading up a blind alley here—you may not want to play along I know that there have been a good many similar shows in the vicinity in the last few months I haven't attended any, and I don't know any University people who have, but I know veterans who have. I won't name who sponsored them, but it's an outside group It occurred to me that this might have been what happened One of these other veterans groups may have, in the natural course of events, scheduled one of these shows. Certainly the pattern is the same from all reports. They might conceivably have felt it desirable or interesting or a worthwhile move to get a larger representation of University veterans than in the past Would that general line open up to you, Mr Reed? You don't need to be so afraid of implicating other people here as you would have to be in a similar situation in the army.

WILLIAMSON I suspect that that is far closer to the truth than anything else thus far reported.

DANIELS: Nobody wants to pass judgment on the shows themselves. We're concerned only as the University is implicated in this affair.

WILLIAMSON: And in the relationship between a member of the University and such a show. I suspect that what Mr Daniels has just propounded is closer to the truth than would ordinarily come out There are two unexplained factors in that hypothesis. One of them was why you were called upon to sell tickets unless it was a Committee assignment downtown, a commercial deal, or third, a part of the campus club's program. I noticed recently an announcement of expansion of the club's social program. Another thing is why the hall was registered in your name.

REED: Well, let's face it another way. What did I gain by this? I am married, have built myself a house in South Minneapolis, payments on which I don't have to worry about for three years I'm not rich as anyone under the G.I. or Rehab bill will agree I am leading a hand-to-mouth existence I'm attending the University this quarter to complete it and then go out and run a construction outfit. This will be and

means my life's work. I shall come back each fall and spring to complete more until I get my degree. I have nothing to gain by producing such a show. You can check my bank account or sources of financial income. They are not increased or decreased in any way. I have absolutely nothing to gain by this. I said I sold tickets and attended the stag. I don't know how far the University cares to pry into my private life. Last fall there was hearsay and questioning going on when I invited members of the club out to my house to sit around and drink beer. I don't know how the Gestapo works or what they have around here, but the next day there were many questions about the party and insinuations that it must have been terrific.

BERGE: Questioning from whom?

REED: Not Mr. Foley. I don't wish to say from whom. I don't know how far this goes. Maybe they will be checking up on my marital relationships, etc., I don't know. I don't know how far it does go. I would like clarification on that. I am not a law student.

PURDY: You realize that it is a question of involving the University since you are a student and citizen of the community.

REED: I made a statement that the University had nothing to worry about.

WILLIAMSON: Perhaps that is a matter for the University to determine after making its own investigation.

REED: It's my judgment that the University had nothing to worry about. I am sorry I was not acquainted with the fact that there would be a repercussion of the fact that I sold tickets on the campus.

JONES: In discussing the possibilities of who did throw this thing, I would like to state that I am in a peculiar capacity in connection with the Veterans Club and Mr. Daniels' office. As far as I can determine, it was not the Veterans Club of the University of Minnesota.

WILLIAMSON: The Veterans Club embarked upon a program expansion. Whether or not this stag had anything to do with this expansion program by individual members is not known to us.

PURDY: There is a dual responsibility when you belong to the University as a student. You've got to avoid such things in order not to give the University an undesirable public relations status.

Jackson and Reed agreed with this but said the show was so remote from the University that it had no connection.

PURDY: Except that a few students attended?

WILLIAMSON: The story I heard was that four or five hundred students went and a few outsiders.

REED: I don't know. The place was small. I don't know that you

could get four or five hundred people in a room three times the size of this room.

DUNPHY: What is the Veterans Club? How many members has it?

REED: About half or a third of all vets on campus.

WILLIAMSON: Any other comments from the Committee?

PURDY: Would you agree if I suggested that in the future, as well as in the past, the University students ought to avoid going as a body to a place where things happen which might reflect on the name of the University?

REED: Well, wait a minute—going into other things like the State Capitol. Did not the things you implied mean they should not go there?

PURDY: Suppose you have a student club throwing a dance downtown, everybody gets drunk and breaks furniture in the hotel, etc. . . .

REED: If it is a student club and definitely a University group of students, then they have definite responsibilities.

JACKSON: I would like to point out that there is going to have to be a process of indoctrination so that students won't go out and do this sort of thing.

REED: I did not know what the party was going to be and all I will say is that it was rough. Same as last year.

WILLIAMSON: Do you care to indicate how you became implicated?

REED: No.

WILLIAMSON: Do you care to leave it that way? As far as you know, it was not a concerted action by students on campus?

REED: As far as I know I don't say other students didn't have tickets. As far as I know it was not part of a concerted drive to recruit University veterans or students.

WILLIAMSON: You were not present with other students who were asked to sell tickets?

LUND: It was not intended for profit, but merely a reminiscence of old army life?

REED: I imagine.

WILLIAMSON: There was a profit from it all right. It was part of a social program.

FOLEY: Did you have anything to do with arranging to have a brewery send out the beer?

REED: I do not wish to comment on that.

WILLIAMSON: No comment on how your name happens to be tied up with the reservation of the hall?

JACKSON: Are you afraid of implicating someone else?

REED: That's not it.

WILLIAMSON: Any further comments?

FOLEY: One person who was at the party said it was a wonder the police were not called because it was so noisy it could be heard all over the neighborhood.

REED: Dean Williamson said that the doors were locked. How could someone get out and hear how far the noise carried?

BERGE: The present status of Mr. Reed's part is this. You say you *did* sell tickets and were involved to a certain extent more or less, you won't say how much or how far. You *did* sell tickets, you *did* go, it was a pretty rough show and there's a question in your mind as to whether or not it is the sort of thing to involve a University in. You accept the fact that University students have a certain responsibility as far as conduct that other people don't have. Am I right?

REED: That's a pretty good summary. Your interpretation of arrangements—I said I attended the stag and sold tickets.

PURDY: Do you believe that up to this point, regardless of what happens after this, that it hasn't been like Gestapo proceedings and that you have had a square deal?

REED: Yes.

The boys were invited to leave the room while the Committee deliberated.

LUND: Was the audience all male? Stag party?

FOLEY: Yes, but there were both men and women in the show. Theantor and man in charge of the performance both say that Reed made the arrangements.

JONES: I would like to see the Committee proceed on the assumption that he was one of the men if not the main one who arranged it.

WILLIAMSON: Last year the Veterans Club put on a similar party. We heard about it, called them in and told them they couldn't do that sort of thing. This boy was one of the ones that put it on. He knew it was unacceptable as far as the University is concerned. They were very conscientious about not connecting the University with it this year. He has been out of the army long enough to know this sort of thing is not acceptable.

DANIELS: I have no evidence, but I talked with one member of the staff whose immediate comment was "I bet the Veterans Post started that party as an effort to draw them into the Club." I just project this as a hypothesis, someone was planning regular stags, this one follows the usual pattern to a tee. Decided to put on an auxiliary show. Asked these boys if they would like to have one of their own—not the

Veterans Club, but just a few of the individual veterans. It smells of stag shows from start to finish. I think he was trying to say about the University having no cause to worry that they had police protection.

FOLEY: I heard that the morals squad was interested. One of these performers was fined \$500 on a vice charge and her specialty is said to be this type of show.

BERGE: I got the impression after Purdy's talking to him that he did have some insight finally that the veteran, as well as other students, has some responsibilities to the University.

JONES: What should we do? I would be opposed to dropping him out of the University.

PURDY: Let's put him on disciplinary probation. I move thus.

JONES: Second the motion.

Motion carried unanimously.

DANIELS: I believe that's the wisest possible action. It should be followed up by some strong private talks here and there. I think that the desirability of our getting advisers in that club and working with those advisers is great. Even though Reed has been here for a year and a half he is part of a tremendous social upheaval this quarter. We've got to move in on advisers to make sure this doesn't happen again.

WILLIAMSON: There are several other students involved—I don't know how many—that we know of. Should we put them on probation? They participated in about the same way.

PURDY: If it is a similar situation, they should be treated alike. Someone should tell them what the University expects of its students.

BERGE: Where did he get the impression that this was a board?

DANIELS: In the army you never get called until they have arrived at a decision that you are guilty. They don't have fact-finding boards like this but purely disciplinary boards to act on investigation. He assumed if it got to the point of the board they had already decided to give him the works.

Meeting adjourned.

J.D.F.

February 29, 1944 I informed Reed of the Committee's decision to place him on probation. He reacted *very* differently than previously. He spoke of army service and his dislike of the army. He said he had overreacted to me and to the Committee because he was paranoid. He said he had been seeing Dr. Schultz (psychiatrist) and was getting accustomed to being paranoid. He also said he has migraine headaches. His discharge was a neuropsychiatric one.

Reed said he felt the Committee was fair—more so than he had an-

anticipated I inferred from remarks he made about the stag that he was admitting by implication that the show was as described and that he had some part in the promotion. He said it left a bad taste because it was so sordid

He said he plans to leave school at the end of the quarter and go into the construction business. He may return some time to get a degree—but now he wants to capitalize on a good opportunity. He shook hands upon leaving the interview room.

J.D.F

April 19, 1944 Reed came in to tell me he was starting his excavating contracting and would not return after this quarter.

J.D.F

CASE 2

The Persistence of Minor Misbehavior with Major Causes

D.S Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Raymond Sanders

College Science, Literature, and the Arts Class Sophomore Sex M

A. New Case

1. Complaint or charge: Financial irregularity

2. Date made. October 29, 1945

3. Against whom. Raymond Sanders

4. Made or reported by _____

5. Action. Counseling

6. Date closed November 13, 1945

7. Date reported to committee _____

B. New charges or case reopened:

2 Fin irreg (1/18/46) counseling, hold placed on record. Closed 3/14/46.

3. Fin. irreg. (4/1/46)

4. Fin irreg (4/6/46)

5. Fin. irreg. (4/7/46)

6. Fin. irreg (4/13/46)

7. Fin. irreg. (4/13/46)

C. 10/7/46 Request for transcript—correspondence, counseling, transcript

Contact Desk Inquiry 11/5/46 sent, closed 10/12/46

D S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Raymond Sanders

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

October 29, 1945. Buswell's Grocery Store called to report that Raymond Sanders had written a \$25 check which was returned marked "account closed." Sanders passed a check last year and made good on it but he has not responded to calls made recently in an effort to get this money. There is also a service charge from the bank for handling the check. Sanders lives at the Y.M.C.A. in downtown Minneapolis.

J D F.

November 5, 1945. Mr Jones of the Student Counseling Bureau called to say that he had just seen Sanders prior to the boy's coming to see me. Sanders had been worried about why he should see me. He told Jones that he had not been attending classes regularly and had given a check to the *Daily* over a year ago and had just received a notice two weeks ago from Howard Duff that the check had been returned by the bank. Jones said that Sanders' ideas seemed to be unrealistic in terms of his future but characterized the boy as very bright, saying that his IQ was approximately 144. He said he had a multiphasic profile and a strong vocational interest profile and would send me a copy of all test scores, together with a letter summarizing his interview. I told him what the situation was and if there was any further information I could give him, I would be glad to do so. Jones also said that Sanders had applied for a loan at the Bureau of Loans and Scholarships last year to cover the check and suggested that I get in touch with Mr Petrillo to get the information.

Sanders is twenty-one years old and comes from a city in South

Dakota where he attended high school. He entered the University in the spring of 1944 and is now a sophomore with the potential major of political science. His father was a railroad yard master until the time of his death two years ago. His mother is living and has recently been elected Registrar of Deeds in her county. He has one older brother who is a law student at the University of Iowa and a professional baseball player with the Dallas team, he also has two younger brothers and a younger sister. His family's religious background is Congregational but he said that he professes no religious connections. Sanders was in the ASTP reserve at the University of Colorado for one quarter and states that he was discharged for a congenital heart condition. At the University he states that he had been on the Varsity Debate Squad, secretary of the DFL party and chairman of the International United Nations Meeting. Financially, he is dependent upon his mother, his grandfather, some help from other relatives and has a \$150-a-year scholarship from the Lions Foundation of his home town. He tried working but had to quit because of his condition. The job he had was setting pins in a bowling alley.

Sanders told me that he had written a check a year ago last July for the *Daily* when he purchased a subscription for a friend who was attending an English university. He said the check apparently was not cashed for several weeks because he closed his account about five or six weeks after summer session was over and learned later that the check has been returned by the bank. He said he had written the boy several times and discovered the English man had never received the *Daily* so he said he supposed he didn't owe the *Daily* any money at all but he said he had been careless and had not talked to Howard Duff yet. He said he would do so and see whether the subscription was cancelled because the check bounced. He thought perhaps that might have happened and then a later treasurer or manager of the *Daily* might have assumed that the money was still due.

I discussed the matter of the check at the grocery store and he said he would see the manager tomorrow, and report back to me about the disposition of the obligation. He said he had sent his mother \$25 two weeks ago to deposit in his home town bank and wanted the check sent through again. I asked him whether he thought he should continue a checking account in view of his limited financial resources. He said he thought he should probably close the account permanently because he did not keep very careful records of the amount of money remaining in the checking account.

When Sanders mentioned his family's religious background, he went

into some discussion of his attitudes toward religion which were of an intellectualized version. He said something to the effect that he wanted to be logical and reasonable, and not emotional. When I asked him whether he had rejected his father, he seemed surprised and asked how I knew. I then discussed with him the pattern of religious rejection and the symbolic parental rejection which it often signified. He then asked questions about how he should notify his family of his rejection of religion stating that some of his relatives, both male and female, were in the ministry and that one of his aunts was a national officer in a religious organization.

We discussed further the matter of emotion and he seemed disturbed at the thought that a person who could pass through a religious conflict such as he has experienced could be considered emotionally matured when he became more tolerant about religion. He thought this was thought to be a form of regression or a sign of "weakness in character." We discussed some fundamental aspects of his development and he was again surprised when I asked if he were not quite liberal in his political views. He stated that he was very pleased to have the occasion to discuss some of these matters as they had been puzzling him. He mentioned that he had taken the multiphasic and I told him I thought I could predict his pattern and he again seemed surprised and then discussed his lack of financial responsibility as possibly related to his religious conflict. I told him he could come back to see me again if he wished,

J.D.F.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
Office of the Dean of Students
Minneapolis 14

November 12, 1945

Mr John D. Foley
213 Administration Building
Main Campus

Dear Mr. Foley:

Re: Raymond Sanders

In compliance with your request for a written report of my interview with Mr Sanders on November 5, 1945, the following is a summary of the subjects discussed and the impressions which I received of the student.

My impression of this student is that he is a quite well developed psychopathic personality, showing almost all of the usual signs of this particular type of personality classification. On the positive side, the client mentioned

his completed novel, which he tells me has been rejected for publication by at least one book company, his important work in the field of world federation and his efforts to have the universities recognize their responsibilities in organizing United Nations federation groups. He also referred to his unusual success and brilliance as a debater, his exceptional collection of classical records, and his ability to do well on examinations after only taking perhaps 20 to 30 per cent of all the requirements. These achievements he described with the usual lack of enthusiasm or emotional tone which characterizes this personality group. Without any hesitation and also without any particular emotional tone, he admitted his grade failures, that he is being supported in the University by a friend, and that he is not in any way living up to the moral obligations which he had incurred and is at present incurring. He admitted that he was not liked by the boys in the "co-op" house where he had been living until recently and, he felt, with just cause they desired to have him leave. He admits that he is getting little or nothing out of the University as he goes along, and he is apparently constitutionally unable to attend classes for which he is enrolled. He said that he thought that his life was quite a mess, that he had important personality problems, that he had important mental problems, and that he didn't know which way he should turn.

His letter which he wrote to me on the evening before our interview was certainly typical also of this type of student. He apparently was somewhat upset by the call from your office and although the letter began in a tone of desperate need for help, he was soon writing about his "unusually worthy ability" and implying that it was the responsibility of the University to recognize his brilliance and to put up with his eccentricities. A rather unusual feature of this letter was the neologisms which occurred in almost every paragraph. He used words which I certainly have never seen before and which had no meaning to me. The student's concept of the solution to the problem was typical, I suppose, of a man of this type. He thought that he should now turn and lay everything aside that he had been doing and start over again in law. When I raised the question that perhaps the Law School might not be too eager to have him on the basis of his past record, he stated that it would be the University's and my job to see that the Law School did admit him. When I suggested that he was hardly in a position to ask for favors from the University, he readily admitted this, but said that he had no idea what else he might do that would be satisfactory.

It does seem certain that he is somewhat disoriented and certainly very disintegrated so far as his major drives and desires are concerned. I suppose if we judge our prognosis in terms of other cases similar, we would have to admit that his chances of ever making a satisfactory student career are extremely unlikely. It is my impression that his appearance before you at this time will constitute just the beginning of a long series of such contacts. He indicated when I suggested that he was in trouble for some reason about

five or six different possibilities, all of which may come to a head and demand further attention from your office

Sincerely yours,
Stanley Jones
Counselor

SSJ.ncs

November 13, 1945. Sanders paid Buswell's Grocery Store.

J D F.

December 10, 1945. Telephone report to Jones. He is seeing Sanders today. Sanders has been dropped for nonattendance in classes

J D F

January 18, 1946 Albert Harmon reported that a friend of his who runs a dry cleaning establishment near the university received a \$15 check from Raymond Sanders which had bounced. Harmon wanted to know whether it was possible to get Sanders to make good the check. I told him I would see what could be done.

Jones of the Student Counseling Bureau reported to me last month that Sanders had been dropped for nonattendance of classes. I sent out a call for Sanders.

J D.F.

January 20, 1946. I talked to Sanders about this matter and he said that this check was one that he issued about the time I first saw him (it was, in fact, dated the day after my last interview with Sanders). He said he believed he could get this straightened up right away now that his mother had taken her public office and was able to send him more money. He said he would see the man in the dry cleaning establishment and make arrangements to pay the bill.

I had a long talk with Sanders about his plans. Although Jones has done some extensive counseling and although I had rather an extensive interview with Sanders about the time he began to see Mr. Jones, he does not seem to have improved materially. The boy still seems to believe that because he is bright he is entitled to special privileges and apparently even to exemptions from the ordinary requirements of students such as attending class and writing papers. He seems particularly disappointed about having to take prerequisite courses. The boy said he had not done much writing in the sense of books or publications which he previously told Mr. Jones he had been concentrating on. His plans, however, were vague and he still shows little insight into his personal adjustment difficulties.

I asked Sanders to keep in touch with me and to let me know when the bill was settled.

J.D.F.

March 14, 1946. Some time ago Mr. Jones called and said that Sanders would not be readmitted for spring quarter on the basis of a decision by Dean Smith. I talked to Harmon today to find out whether the bill was paid and he said that his friend had received a call from Sanders who said he would pay up by the 28th of February. Harmon says this account, however, has not been paid.

When Jones called, he said that Sanders was in South Dakota at his mother's home. I am writing him a letter asking him to pay up this \$15. Harmon said that Sanders asked for an extension of time because of his veteran's check which had not come through at the time he called the man. A hold was placed on Sanders' record.

J D.F.

April 2, 1946. An official of the West Side National Bank notified me that Sanders had a number of checks bouncing around the neighborhood. This lady said she had received several complaints from merchants in the neighborhood that checks which Sanders had written had come back and they were unable to collect them. The bank is anxious to help these customers in any way it can. I told this lady I would get in touch with Sanders.

I called the Y.M.C.A. and left a message for Sanders to appear for an appointment Monday morning.

J D.F.

April 5, 1946. Sanders did not show up. A check at the Y.M.C.A. shows that he got the note left. Another telephone message was left asking him to call me.

J.D.F.

April 6, 1946. Mr. Smythe called and said that he had a check of Sanders' which bounced. The check was cashed at a department store. This is the fourth complaint. I suggested to Mr. Smythe that he try to pick up Sanders so that we could see him together.

J D.F.

April 7, 1946. Mr. Smythe called again about a fifth complaint. He said that Sanders had cashed a check at Northwest Airlines and the check had bounced.

J D.F.

April 13, 1946. A gentleman from the Minnesota Book Store called. He said he had two checks which he had not been able to collect. He said he had just learned that the department store, having a large check for \$100 or \$150, had had Sanders arrested and he is now in jail. The department store wants Mr. Johnson of the book store to refer a complaint, but he said he was hesitant to do this. Mr. Johnson said apparently Mrs. Sanders, Raymond's mother, had washed her hands of the

boy. I told him I saw no way of collecting for the checks. I suggested he call Mr. Jones of the Counseling Bureau for further information before deciding whether to press charges.

Mr. Baker of a second book store called and said he had a \$46 bill which Sanders had owed him for a long time. He had also learned that Sanders is now in jail and wondered whether anything could be done to collect this bill. I told him I didn't know, but I would keep in touch with him if I could help in any way.

J.D.F.

April 13, 1946. Mr. Jones called and said he had talked to Johnson and was a little dubious about what he should do. He said he had seen Sanders twice more after he had talked to me but Sanders made a lot of promises. Actually, however, he was making no progress in Jones's opinion. Jones said he thought Sanders was telling lies and there were other evidences of noncooperation or extremely superficial adaptation. Johnson told Jones he would have the county attorney call him tomorrow and Jones wondered what his position should be.

I told Jones I thought he should tell the district attorney he was not speaking for the University but merely giving a professional opinion and that he might recommend hospitalization or psychiatric therapy whichever he thought was appropriate. Jones said he thought extensive psychiatric treatment might help Sanders but he was not sure. I suggested that he recommend to the attorney that Sanders be sent to General Hospital for psychiatric diagnosis.

In discussing the matter with Jones, I said I thought Sanders might be prepsychotic. He said he had believed he might be psychopathic but the manner in which Sanders was cashing these checks might indicate, Jones believed, that Sanders is schizophrenic.

Jones is going to keep in touch with me on further developments in this case. Both of us were of the opinion that as things stand now, Sanders is not a good risk to be readmitted to the University, but if desirable, the University might extend psychiatric services to him in an effort to get him straightened out.

J.D.F.

CASE 3

The Waxing and Waning of Behavior

D.S. Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Janet Larson

College Science, Literature, and the Arts Class Junior Sex F

A. New Case

1. Complaint or charge: Misconduct

2. Date made 6/22/45

3. Against whom. Janet Larson and Betty Randolph

4. Made or reported by Mrs. Wendell

5. Action Counseling; privileges restricted until August 1.

6. Date closed: December 10, 1946

7. Date reported to committee: _____

B. New charges or case reopened. _____

Sex misconduct charge made on July 22, 1945, against Janet Larson
and William Burton. Suspended until Disciplinary Committee met, at
which time she was placed on probation.

Contact Desk Inquiry 6/23/45

D.S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Janet Larson

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

STATEMENT OF JANET LARSON, ROOM 311, PARKER HALL, TAKEN BY C. J. FIELD, INVESTIGATOR, IN THE PRESENCE OF MARY HALL, SECRETARY, ON MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1945, AT 3.20 P.M.

MR. FIELD: What is your name?

MISS LARSON: Janet Larson

F: Are you a University student?

L: Yes.

F: What college?

L: Science, Literature, and the Arts.

F: Where do you live?

L: Parker Hall.

F: Will you explain your activities of Saturday night, June 20, 1945, from the time you left for the evening?

L: We left about nine o'clock, went downtown, saw a movie, had lunch afterwards and took a taxi back.

F: What time did you arrive at Parker Hall?

L: It was some time close to two. I imagine five or ten minutes to.

F: When you left Parker Hall, did you sign out?

L: No.

F: On your return to Parker Hall, what did you do?

L: Well, all four of us got out of the taxi in front of the hall and Betty went in and the three of us went around to the back.

F: Did Betty join you later in the garden at the rear of Parker Hall?

L: Yes

F: Will you give us the names of the people in the group that got out of the car with you?

L: Martin Stone, William Burton, and Betty Randolph, and myself

F: How long did you stay in the garden?

L: Well, we were there from two until they found us. I'm not sure when they found us. . . .

F: Who found you in the garden?

L: Miss Meyers, Miss Hamilton, and the night watchman.

F: When you were found in the garden, what happened?

L: They came out and asked us if we were residents of Parker Hall. She asked for my name and I told her my name. She said the garden was no place to be entertaining visitors after hours.

F: Then what did you do?

L: She asked—I don't know if she asked, but I went in.

F: Did Miss Meyers or Miss Hamilton ask you to name the other student?

L: Yes

F: What was your reply?

L: I said I didn't believe it was my position to give her name.

F: When you were found in the garden by Miss Meyers and Miss Hamilton, where was Miss Randolph?

L: Well, I can't remember if all four of us were standing in a circle or next to each other, but we were all four standing and talking and laughing.

F: When you were returned to Parker Hall, what did Miss Randolph do?

L: When I went into Parker Hall, I don't know what she did. After she came in, she said she had sat on the curb.

F: Have you ever been involved in any difficulty at Parker Hall before, Miss Larson?

L: No.

F: Have you ever admitted anybody to Parker Hall after hours?

L: No.

F: Have you on previous occasions been admitted to Parker Hall after hours?

L: No.

F: After reading a typewritten copy of this statement and without any promises of immunity, are you willing to sign it?

L. Yes

SIGNED, Janet Larson

C. J. Field

Investigator

STATEMENT COMPLETED AT 3:40 P M , MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1945

July 2, 1945. Initial interview was with Mr. Foley and Gladys Koepke Counselor and Janet discussed various ways of solving difficult situations in which a choice of reaction is involved. We started specifically with the situation that brought her to our office and then generalized for future situations. Possible criteria for making a choice and factors involved in trying to make a better choice from one that would be less good for all concerned were discussed during the interview.

Janet cited an example of an experience with her parents in which she had faced a difficult situation with her mother who had disapproved at first but finally relented when Janet confronted her with the situation. Janet thinks the action taken on her present case a severe one, so the counselor attempted to explain the purpose of the action from the viewpoint of considering both Janet's future behavior and that of the other girls at Parker. The counselor briefly mentioned a few of the problems women on the campus encounter. Janet stated that most of her evenings, since she had been restricted, have been spent in "bull sessions" with the girls or occasionally by entertaining friends in the parlor at Parker Hall. She wondered why the girls laughed at her situation when they heard about it.

Janet is to call for another interview the week before the summer session ends. The restriction apparently is a difficult one for Janet to accept, she doesn't indicate great antagonism but rather enduring something she doesn't like.

G.E.K.

July 21, 1945. In a telephone call to Mrs. Wendell, counselor learned that Janet has been keeping the restriction placed upon her.

Janet does not appear to carry a chip on her shoulder in regard to the restriction. She belongs to a religious foundation—otherwise her recreational activities are not of the organized variety. She enjoys swimming and dancing. Janet herself said she thought at first this experience would make her "bitter" in regard to her work and the Uni-

versity, but it hasn't. She asked if it would be possible to have Friday evening, July 30, off—her restriction lasts until August 1 and her vacation begins July 31—all her tests will be completed. Counselor said that we would notify Mrs. Wendell in regard to our decision.

After Janet returns from her vacation, she is to be responsible for her own behavior and will be expected to live within the regulations of both Parker Hall and the University.

G E.K.

STATEMENT OF JANET LARSON, ROOM 311, PARKER HALL, TAKEN BY F. L. CRANE, DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF PROTECTION AND INVESTIGATION, IN THE PRESENCE OF JOHN D. FOLEY, DEAN OF STUDENTS OFFICE, ON THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1945, AT 9 25 A M

MR. CRANE: Where did you eat supper last night, Janet?

MISS LARSON: At the Strand Café.

C: Whom did you have supper with?

L. William Burton.

C: Is he a student of the University?

L. Yes.

C: Is he the same boy that you were out with the time you were involved in trouble before?

L: Yes.

C: After you left the Strand Café, where did you go, Janet?

L: On the lawn near the Applied Science Department Building.

C: Did you sit down on the grass?

L. Yes.

C: Then what occurred?

L. We talked.

C: What was the topic of your conversation?

L: Just general conversation plus sexual matters.

C: Then what occurred, Janet?

L: Well, we went to this other place where they found us.

C: To what other place?

L. Well, it was kind of a clearing in the bushes or something like that.

C: Was it down by the Science building?

L: Yes, it was close to where we were sitting.

C: What were you doing when the watchman discovered you?

L: Well, we were ungracefully embraced.

C: Were you indulging in sexual intercourse at the time?

L: Yes, we were.

C: About what time was this, Janet?

L. Let's see. I don't know About . . . sometime between six and seven. I don't know exactly

C: Did you go directly home to Parker Hall after the watchman talked to you?

L. We stopped at a café.

C: What time did you get to Parker Hall?

L. About 7:30.

C: After the watchman talked to you, did you discuss the situation at all?

L: Well, a little.

C: Do you have anything further to add at this time, Janet?

L. I don't believe so.

C. After reading a typewritten copy of this statement and if it is the same as dictated and with no promise of immunity, are you willing to sign it?

L. Yes.

SIGNED. Janet Larson

STATEMENT COMPLETED AT 9:40 A.M., THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1945

July 22, 1945. Janet came in to report the incident of last evening when she was apprehended for sex misconduct by the night watchman. She admits her responsibility for the act and states that neither she nor William thought about what others might think concerning it. They felt they had complete privacy in the secluded place they chose.

I told her this situation would necessitate action by the Disciplinary Committee because of its seriousness. She was told to report back to Parker Hall and only to attend her classes. She was not to leave Parker Hall except to attend her classes unless she were called to this office

G E.K

July 23, 1945. Janet was called to the office to tell her that she was suspended from school until further action by the Disciplinary Committee that was to meet later in the morning at which time she and William would have an opportunity to present their case.

G E.K.

MEETING OF THE ALL-UNIVERSITY DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE, JULY 23, 1945

PRESENT: Peterson, Wilson, Green, Koepke, Foley, Langley, Ordway, Carson, Williamson.

Re: Larson and Burton

REVIEW OF CASE: Miss Langley said Larson's record satisfactory. Students called in

WILLIAMSON: Have you any remarks to make to the Committee?

LOWRY: Do you want us to assume the worst—it happened before, and will happen again?

BURTON: No, it didn't happen before and won't again

LOWRY: How do we know it won't happen again?

BURTON: When I give my word I mean it.

LARSON: It won't happen again.

LOWRY: You mean you are going to get married?

BURTON: Yes.

LOWRY: When did you decide?

BURTON: We talked about it a long time

LOWRY: Have you told your parents about it?

BOTH: Not about our marriage.

LOWRY: How do you account for this unusual incident behind a building in broad daylight?

BURTON: Partly an experiment—partly we lost control.

FOLEY: When did you decide to get married?

BURTON: I asked her before this happened.

WILLIAMSON: What was your difficulty at Parker Hall this summer?

LARSON: Intended to take an overnight but I didn't sign out. A friend let us in but we were caught.

LANGLEY: Where did you live during the spring quarter?

LARSON: With my grandmother

WILLIAMSON: Did you come here this summer?

BURTON: Yes, we met at a Union dance

WILLIAMSON: Was this a gradually developing relationship?

LARSON: We have seen each other at least every other day

BURTON: Neither of us has ever been in any real trouble before.

WILLIAMSON: How can we determine whether your marriage plan is a real one?

LARSON: I suppose you will have to rely on our honor. We have talked about it

BURTON: This is hard to say but it is not just a summer romance

WILLIAMSON: What will you do, if suspended from school?

BURTON: Go to work

LARSON: Go home and tell my folks. I might try another school

PETERSON: The matter regarding your marriage is not very clear cut.

LARSON: We can't make definite plans until Bill finishes school.

BURTON: I have had 3½ years of army service (medical corps) in England and Germany.

WILLIAMSON: What would you think if you were on this side of the table?

BURTON: You have a hard thing to decide.

WILLIAMSON: How can you help this committee make a decision?

BURTON: By trying to think of some way of dealing with us.

WILLIAMSON: Have you ever been engaged before?

BOTH: No.

WILLIAMSON: Ever date before?

LARSON: Yes. I had a chance to be married but was not engaged.

WILLIAMSON: Do you consider yourself engaged?

LARSON: Unofficially

WILLIAMSON: When did this happen?

LARSON: We have considered ourselves such for quite a while.

LOWRY: At what point did you become unofficially engaged?

LARSON: After we had found out a lot about each other, and were in love

BURTON: I asked her to marry me 1½ weeks after the beginning of the summer session.

LOWRY: Where did you ask her?

BURTON: In the lounge of Parker Hall.

LARSON: It was very informal

LOWRY: What did you say?

BURTON: "Honey, will you marry me?"

WILLIAMSON: Did this present situation grow out of delayed marriage?

LARSON: We knew we were going to be married. I told my roommate.

BURTON: I told no one directly.

LARSON: It was to be formal when I got the ring.

LOWRY: This is a serious affair, but it was casual, wasn't it?

BURTON: Yes, it was casual.

LARSON: However, it was binding. I dated no one else.

WILLIAMSON: You are convinced this raises no moral conflict—no further situation society would object to?

LARSON: I meant we would be married.

WILLIAMSON: Is that moral from your point of view?

LARSON: It is my first experience.

PETERSON: Was your discussion about whether your actions were right or not?

LARSON: We were frank in sex discussions.

LOWRY: Do you think anything about medical work in the army could have led to such consideration?

BURTON: No, mostly battle casualties.

LARSON We have knowledge of facts from studies.

WILLIAMSON Not from experience?

LARSON No.

BURTON I've had previous intercourse.

WILLIAMSON If dismissed from school, would you get married?

BURTON Yes, if her parents approved

LARSON I would take him home and discuss the situation. If my parents were opposed, it might make a difference.

WILLIAMSON Are you hesitating now?

LARSON No.

WILLIAMSON Why, then?

BURTON It might make for an unhappy marriage if her parents objected.

LARSON We would try to make them see it our way I think they would

WILLIAMSON Have you thought this through?

LARSON Naturally we thought about it.

WILLIAMSON What was the effect of your restriction to the dormitory?

LARSON I was bitter the first two weeks but we resigned ourselves to the fact.

WILLIAMSON Would it have happened regardless of the 8-o'clock restriction?

BURTON It probably would have

WILLIAMSON Have you experienced any regrets?

BURTON I have.

LOWRY Because you were caught?

BURTON Yes.

FOLEY Is this situation crystallizing your decision to marry?

BURTON Probably.

WILLIAMSON Have you ever been in love before?

LARSON Puppy love, but never engaged

BURTON If we remain in school, the situation would be the same. We couldn't see our way to getting married. If expelled, we could get married.

WILLIAMSON Are either of you upset?

BURTON Upset by being caught. But having had relations doesn't bother me We were going to get married.

The students were invited to leave the committee room

CARSON I move probation (the restriction to be decided by Dean of Students Office) and suspension to be terminated.

LOWRY. Seconded

Motion carried.

July 23, 1945 Janet and Bill came before the Disciplinary Committee and were placed on probation. Mr Foley and I met with them later in the afternoon to explain the action taken to them.

G.E.K.

July 28, 1945 Mrs. Wendell called to report that last evening (July 27) she found Janet Larson and William Burton in one of Parker Hall's small parlors with the lights out. The students know that the lights are never to be turned out during the evening Janet claimed that Bill and she were just leaving and that was the reason for turning off the lights. Bill did go and Mrs. Wendell told Janet she couldn't use the small parlors but would have to use the large lounge until Mrs. Wendell could trust her.

Mrs Wendell dreads the responsibility of having Janet in Parker Hall

This was the first time any student has turned off the light in one of the small parlors; Mrs Wendell watches them carefully.

She also reported that at 11 30 P M., she noticed that Janet was going upstairs in the elevator from the lower study hall, from which the rear door can be opened However, she didn't comment to Janet further because she had reprimanded her once that evening previously.

Counselor has an appointment to see Janet this week before she leaves for her vacation, at which time this matter will be considered.

G E K.

July 29, 1945. Janet is leaving Saturday, July 31, for her vacation; she plans to spend it at home.

She feels that it is fortunate that she can have one at this time in order to get away from both Bill and her studies for a while to think about her situation. She inquired about the marriage counselor who had been recommended to her before

She explained the incident at Park Hall on Tuesday evening. Bill was about to leave, had his coat on and had turned off the light while he kissed her goodnight Mrs. Wendell arrived just at that time Janet introduced the subject of her later encounter with Mrs. Wendell in the elevator about 11:30 P.M. that same evening. She claimed Mrs. Wendell gave her a peculiar look. Janet said she had been studying in one of the study rooms on the lower floor.

She remarked how grateful both Bill and she were for the manner in which the Committee conducted their case.

G.E.K.

October 1, 1945. Janet said she thinks she is getting along satisfactorily both in her studies and in her living at Parker Hall. She doesn't find it difficult to keep the rules, often she doesn't stay out as late as she is allowed

She hasn't been seeing Bill for the past two weeks. She said it is difficult to give a reason for her feeling about him now, but she just isn't interested in going with him. She wants to forget what happened in July and the easiest way is to discontinue seeing Bill. She feels she has profited by the experience to the extent that she wants to avoid such situations in the future. We discussed the marriage counselor again

Janet doesn't participate in extracurricular activities because her studies keep her quite busy. She does go over to Union dances and other activities frequently, however, where she has an opportunity to meet other students.

She is to come in sometime later when she will have some grade evidence of her fall quarter's work.

G E K.

December 18, 1945. Janet reported that her grades for the fall quarter were all C's. She commented that most of the girls feel that the courses she took this quarter are particularly difficult

She has talked to Bill on the telephone a few times but doesn't accept his invitations. She still definitely wants to sever her friendship with him. She claims she has had a few dates with other students on the campus.

Because Janet has only a few days off during the holiday season, her parents are driving up to see her. She seems very happy about their visit.

I told Janet I didn't think it would be necessary for her to come back to see me again unless at any time she wanted to discuss something with me.

G E K

May 11, 1946. Although this case has been closed, I called Janet in to ask her how she had been getting along. Her manner has changed from one of a vivacious, energetic enthusiasm evident when I first met her last summer to one of a more quiet winsomeness.

She saw Bill occasionally last quarter, they chatted informally but he never asked her for any dates. She has no desire to encourage him to do so. She has dated a few other fellows and doesn't feel that her previous experience last summer has made these situations difficult for her. She thinks about the incident sometimes, chiefly when she is

alone, but she wasn't able or preferred not to verbalize further to me concerning her feelings or attitudes

Janet wants to finish school and she spoke with interest about the summer recreational program planned for them at Parker Hall—golf, tennis, and swimming.

I invited her to come back if I could ever be of any help to her.

G.E.K.

November 10, 1946 One evening on the streetcar Janet recognized me and came over to my seat to sit with me. She told me that she was married to a young man who is attending another school in the city. At that time they had rented rather a large house and had roomers living with them. She seemed very happy.

G.E.K.

CASE 4

A Time and Place for Behavior

D.S Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Leonard Hardy

College Institute of Technology Class Sophomore Sex M

A. New Case

1. Complaint or charge: Misconduct

2. Date made: 2/11/46

3. Against whom: Leonard Hardy and Betty Daniels

4. Made or reported by Mr. Smith

5. Action: Counseling—referred to student counseling bureau

6. Date closed: 2/12/46

7. Date reported to committee: _____

B. New charges or case reopened: _____

Contact Desk Inquiry 2/10/46

D.S Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Leonard Hardy

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

February 10, 1946. Mr. Smith reported Leonard Hardy, Institute of Technology student, and Betty Daniels, employee in Eddy Hall, had been spending a great deal of time in the University radio station lounge and there had been complaints about their inappropriate conduct.

J D F.

February 11, 1946. Betty Daniels is employed full time in department L of the University and I tried to get in touch with the director of that bureau but he is away from the office and may not be back for several days. So I discussed the matter with the assistant director and referred the disposition to her.

I talked to Paul Best of the radio station. He had noticed these two youngsters around the lounge for a long period of time. In fact, he thinks they have been there every morning this quarter. People would go through and stare at them and otherwise try to stimulate this couple but the pair were oblivious to the outside world. He said he had observed no misconduct but thought the matter was largely one of poor taste. He said, however, he would like to have the couple stay away from the lounge which is really a private office although it may be used by students for recreational purposes. He does not care to have necking and other affectionate conduct occurring there because criticisms of such conduct are usually made in such a way as to cast discredit upon the radio station, staff, and students.

J.D.F.

February 12, 1946 I talked to Hardy about this matter and he said he was very much surprised because no one had said anything to him about it until one of the uniformed officers had told him to leave the other day. Both Hardy and Betty gave the same home address. He says she lives in a rooming house near his home but she gets her mail, telephone calls, and eats breakfast at his home. He said they are engaged and plan to be married in September.

Hardy is a sophomore in Engineering. He said he wants to get into architecture but his grades have been so poor that he has been unable to transfer. He is presently on scholastic probation. He said if he cannot get into architecture he will go to another city when he gets married next fall and attend a university there. He has not, however, been accepted for admission yet.

I discussed with Hardy his conduct in the radio station and he agreed to cease using the lounge for a visiting place. I discussed with him some of his scholastic problems and referred him to the Counseling Bureau to check his study habits, reading ability, and vocational interests and aptitudes. He was rather quiet and a little bit shy and seemed to be floundering around without any real concern about his lack of progress.

I am going to close this case, at least for the time being, and follow him later.

J.D.F.

CASE 5

A Minor Instance of No Importance

D.S. Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Virginia Brooks

College Science, Literature, and the Arts Class Freshman Sex F

A. New Case

1. Complaint or charge Financial irregularity

2. Date made 2/24/46

3. Against whom Virginia Brooks

4. Made or reported by Minnesota Book Store

5. Action Counseling—bill paid

6. Date closed 3/1/46

7. Date reported to committee _____

B. New charges or case reopened: _____

Contact Desk Inquiry 2/47

D.S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Virginia Brooks

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER. Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

February 28, 1946 Virginia Brooks lives at West Hall and is a freshman in liberal arts. Her family lives in a Minnesota city. She has one younger sister, a junior in high school. Her father is a street commissioner. Her plans are to major in education; she wants to teach English and speech.

Virginia said that because of illness during winter quarter she dropped her course in speech. She received a C in English and a D in sociology. Her registration isn't complete as yet, but she is to see her advisor this afternoon to decide upon her courses for spring quarter.

When I asked her about the bill at the bookstore, she recalled it and said she would pay it this afternoon. She will bring the receipt to me tomorrow. She claimed that when she received a notice from the store, she didn't have the money and then later she forgot about it. I mentioned the advisability of following through on a notice of a bill by making arrangements with the respective store if she couldn't pay it immediately.

Virginia was out of school one year after graduation from high school before she entered the University. She feels that factor has made it difficult for her to study as she should and accounts for her low grades. However, she stated that she thinks now she knows how to schedule her time and study more effectively. I told her if I could be of assistance to her to come back to see me.

G.E.K.

March 1, 1946 Virginia came in to show me her receipt indicating that she had paid her bill at the Minnesota Book Store

She finished her registration this morning Her 13 credits of class work that she will carry this quarter include English, sociology, and fine arts She is taking modern dance but not for credit. I advised her to establish a regular study hour or hours now so she wouldn't find her work more difficult later in the quarter.

Case closed.

G.E.K

CASE 6

Trouble with the Landlady

D S. Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Donald Ramsey

College Institute of Technology Class Adult special Sex M

A. New Case

1. Complaint or charge. Misconduct

2. Date made. 1/46

3. Against whom. Donald Ramsey and Arthur Bartlett

4. Made or reported by Mrs. Martin

5. Action. Counseling

6. Date closed. 5/46

7. Date reported to committee: _____

B. New charges or case reopened:

9/10/46 Misuse of privilege Counseling, closed 11/2/46

No scores from SCB

Contact Desk Inquiry 2/16/46

D.S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Donald Ramsey

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

February 17, 1946 Mrs. Martin reported that she is having difficulty with Arthur Bartlett and also with Donald Ramsey, his roommate. She said there had been no entertainment of women in the room but Bartlett "chases" a married girl. The girl, however, has stayed away from Bartlett's room.

Ramsey and Bartlett play the radio at all hours of the night. She said it is often one or two o'clock in the morning before they turn it off and she says they play it very loudly. When she asks them to turn it down they merely close the door. Mrs. Martin stated that last Thursday, a number of roomers were being entertained in this room and that it was four o'clock before the boys went to bed during which time the radio was going and boys were dropping their shoes or some other objects for a period of almost two hours.

Mrs. Martin said that of all the people in the house, these two are the only ones who do not apologize when she has to take them to task for being noisy. She wants them to move but they have refused to leave, saying that they could not find anything else and they will not go until the OPA tells them to go.

I sent out a call for these two boys.

J D.F

February 19, 1946 Ramsey says he has had no altercations with Mrs. Martin before last Thursday. He said when Mrs. Martin had on-

dered the two to get out of the house because of this incident last Thursday night, Bartlett went down to see the OPA and found out that Mrs. Martin was charging overceiling rents. He said that if they had to move they would file a complaint against her. He made several comments saying that he was dissatisfied with the way she ran the place but he refused to elaborate

I talked to him at some length about his responsibility over there and he finally loosened up a little and said that Mrs. Martin frequently did not make the beds, she did not clean the bathroom regularly and she left her little boy around the house alone and when she worked nights did not give him supper on many occasions. Finally after the boys had taken him out to dinner several times they asked Mrs. Martin to pay for his dinner and said there was no further problem after that. Ramsey said he did not want to move but finally agreed that it would not be sensible to continue living there if he were going to have continuous disputes with Mrs. Martin. He therefore agreed to go and see her and try to smooth this thing over. He said he would come back to see me within a week and let me know what had occurred.

Ramsey is twenty-four years old and an adult special in business. His ACE score is 26; English 1. He entered the University in January, 1946, and his home is in Iowa

J D F

April 5, 1946. I called in Ramsey to get a follow-up report. He said that since Bartlett had called and said they were staying, he assumed nothing further was necessary. I told him I wanted him to assume responsibility for his own follow-up.

Ramsey said they talked to Mrs. Martin and she had agreed to let them stay. He said Mrs. Martin is now working during the day instead of during the night. She does, however, a minimal amount of housework. She usually makes the beds, but seldom cleans the house. And Ramsey says the boys do their own house cleaning every so often. He said she has recently been talking about getting married again. She secured a divorce from her current husband about three weeks ago. According to Ramsey, the husband is in a veterans' psychopathic hospital. Ramsey also says that Mrs. Martin reported her first husband was dead. Curtis, the seven- or eight-year-old boy, according to Ramsey, is said by Mrs. Martin to be her sister's illegitimate child. Bartlett had mentioned the boy stuttered a good deal but Ramsey said he is improving. He goes to school during the day and gets money from his mother to eat at the White Castle hamburger shop at noon. When he

comes home from school he plays around the neighborhood and is not around home very much. Ramsey said the boy is sassy but you cannot expect much from him since he gets no attention from Mrs. Martin.

I told Ramsey that if conditions do not improve or if they should suddenly get worse, he should report the matter to the Housing Bureau. He said he has already made arrangements to move next fall.

J D.F.

September 13, 1946 Donald related the following story about his attempt to get an athletic ticket this year as reported to me by that department

Donald sent his fee statement and money to his friend Roger Silvers who was to get a ticket for Donald because Donald was out of town and didn't arrive in Minneapolis until Wednesday afternoon, September 1. Roger went through the procedure of getting the ticket—presented Donald's fee statement, paid for the ticket and received it, when he was about to sign Donald's name on the ticket he was asked if that were his name and if the fee statement were his. Roger said they weren't, so the ticket and fee statement were taken away from him. Later Donald called at Cooke Hall and was given his fee statement but was told that he would have to forfeit his ticket because of the circumstances which were in direct violation of the rules. Donald wonders what provision is made for students to procure tickets if they are out of town at the time of the sale.

This year Donald is a junior in the Institute of Technology (veteran). Last year he purchased an athletic ticket and saw all the home football games. He isn't interested in the other sports.

I explained the necessity for some kind of regulation for tickets because of the great demand and to protect students' rights. He will come back Thursday to see me and his friend Roger is to come in tomorrow. I told him we would investigate the situation.

G.E.K.

September 30, 1946. I told Donald I couldn't go any further with his case until I had talked to Roger Silvers who had tried to purchase an athletic ticket for him. Roger has his classes on the farm campus and Donald claimed he didn't seem too interested in coming over here for an interview. However, Donald will try to have him come in tomorrow and if he does, Donald is to see me later in the day.

G.E.K.

November 2, 1946 I told Donald that I had recommended to the Athletic Department that his money be returned for his season ticket. I also asked Donald to tell his friend who purchased the ticket for him

that if he had been willing to come in to see me I could have worked faster on Donald's case. I wanted Donald to convey to him that his cooperation would have been helpful to both Donald and this office. Donald claims that Roger Silvers repeatedly said he would come over to talk to me, but he never carried out his good intentions.

I called the Athletic Department while Ramsey was in my office and asked if Ramsey could go over this morning. Ramsey went over to Cooke Hall after he left my office.

Case closed.

GEK

CASE 7

A Case of Cribbing

D S. Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Clyde Johnson

College Science, Literature, and the Arts Class Sophomore Sex M

A New Case

1. Complaint or charge Cheating in An Examination

2 Date made 2/5/47

3. Against whom. Clyde Johnson

4. Made or reported by Professor Clark

5. Action: Ref. MMPI, F in examination

6. Date closed 2/47

7. Date reported to committee: 2/18/47

B. New charges or case reopened: _____

Contact Desk Inquiry 2/5/47

HSR 68

ACE 23

Eng. 23

Ged # 54

D.S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Clyde Johnson

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER. Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

February 5, 1947. Professor Clark reported the following case of cheating that occurred yesterday afternoon, February 4, at 2:30 P M.

One of his students, Clyde Johnson, who had been absent for several days and who had missed one test, was taking the test yesterday afternoon. There were two janitors working in the front of the room and Johnson was sitting in the rear taking the test. John Logan reported to Professor Clark that he had seen Johnson refer to notes in the left pocket of his sweater while he was taking the test; so when Johnson handed in his paper later, Professor Clark asked him if he had referred to any notes during the test. Johnson said he had not. Professor Clark then asked Johnson for the notes in his sweater pocket and Johnson gave them to him. Johnson stated that he and another student who had previously taken the test had discussed the main points covered in the test before Johnson came to take it, but he still denied having referred to the notes during the examination period. Johnson had been back in class three or four days before Professor Clark requested him to take the test.

Clyde Johnson is a student in Science, Literature and Arts, majoring in chemistry. He spent ten months in the AAF during the war.

Professor Clark mentioned that at the time he asked Johnson if he had referred to notes during the test, Johnson denied it but had become red in the face, other than that there were no emotional reactions to the question.

G.E.K.

February 5, 1947 Interview with John Logan who said that he and another janitor were painting the moveable blackboard in the front of the classroom in which Johnson was taking his test. He was unaware that Johnson was taking a test until Professor Clark came in to ask Johnson if the men in front were disturbing him. Later Logan, in glancing back at Johnson, noticed that he was looking at notes in the pocket of his sweater and then writing on paper. As Logan left work for the day, he reported his observations to Professor Clark who was in his office.

G E K

February 9, 1947. Johnson claimed he didn't know why he was called to this office; so I told him of the charge made against him and that it was referred to this office for disposition. He told of having a few 3- by 5-inch cards with notes in his sweater pocket in which he also kept an eraser. During the test he used the eraser and in doing so glanced at the cards more as a check than for information purposes, he claims he didn't change any of his written answers as a result. He felt that he knew the material very well, he had reviewed for the test while ill at home and had borrowed Professor Clark's class notes also, his other test grades have been good, one of them was the highest in the class.

He mentioned that he wished Professor Clark had discussed this situation with him first. I explained that Professor Clark was obligated to refer the charge to this office because it involved two colleges within the University.

When I asked him to reproduce the answer to one of the questions, he said "This is the one I am not sure about. Several days have elapsed since I reviewed for it and I have taken other tests in the meantime." The question was one that it was believed he answered by using his notes.

Johnson is to take the Multiphasic this afternoon and will return for another appointment tomorrow. I told him that undoubtedly this situation would need to come before the All-University Disciplinary Committee.

G E K.

February 9, 1947. Johnson's story is as follows:

The test in question was one covering a unit of work in the course, Principles of Economics, given in the School of Business Administration. The test was originally given on January 10 while he was absent from class (January 9 to 25 or 26) because of illness. He was back in school four days before he took the make-up test. He had all the notes

for the unit except those for one day that he missed Professor Clark, therefore, allowed him to use his lesson plan notebook so he could read the one section he missed He read this just before he took the test in a room across the hall from Professor Clark's office

There were two janitors painting at the front of the room in which he was taking the tests, otherwise he was not supervised nor were there other students in the room. Professor Clark came in at one point to ask him if the paint bothered him, but he left immediately Several times while he was writing the test, he reached for his eraser which he carried in the same sweater pocket with the cards that had notes on them He admits that in so doing he glanced briefly at the cards once or twice without removing them from his pocket This was merely as a check to see if his answers were right or wrong, he didn't change anything on the paper as a result nor did he thumb through the cards He wasn't conscious of cheating in doing this He took the eraser from his pocket more than once, but he doesn't recall the exact number of times.

When he handed in the paper, Professor Clark asked him if he used his notes and Johnson said no Johnson stated that he thought Professor Clark was joking at first for it didn't occur to him that anyone would think he was cheating Professor Clark asked him for his notes and told him to wait a moment, Professor Clark then left his office and returned shortly and told Johnson he could leave.

Johnson dropped two of his classes because of his illness, he tried to finish his economics course and one in chemistry He reviewed Tuesday evening, Wednesday, and Thursday morning for the test, he had asked a few fellows about the test—kind of questions, etc He took the test Thursday afternoon, February 4.

Johnson is 21 years old and lives at home with his parents He is a sophomore in the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts. He is attending the University on the GI Bill, he was in the Army Air Corps for 10 months

G E K

February 11, 1947 Report from Student Counseling Bureau. no significant findings on the Multiphasic Personality Test.

G E.K.

MEETING OF THE ALL-UNIVERSITY DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 18, 1947, 3.00 P.M., 305 EDDY HALL

PRESENT Dean Williamson, Mr. Peterson, Dr Parnell, Mr Carson, Mr Green, Mr Wilson, Mr. Harding, Professor Clark, Dean Lowry, Mr. Foley, Miss Koepke.

Miss Koepke introduced the case reported February 5 by Professor Clark, School of Business Administration, concerning Clyde Johnson, a sophomore in the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts, majoring in chemistry. Mr. Johnson was absent from classes January 9 through 25 due to illness. An examination which he had missed was given after his return. Three or four days were given for reviewing material for the test which was taken Thursday, February 4. The examination was taken across the hall from Professor Clark's office. Two janitors in the room did not know that he was taking a test. Professor Clark looked into the room and the janitors continued painting. The janitor saw Mr. Johnson consulting notes in his sweater pocket and looking at them. This was reported to Professor Clark when he left his job. Clyde's story is that his eraser was there. Claims that he did not look at his notes. His statement is that he was verifying what he had already written. Notes are similar and are answers to some questions asked in the test. One card in particular contains pertinent answers. After the exam when Mr. Johnson turned in his papers, Professor Clark asked if he had consulted any notes. He said he had not. Professor Clark asked him for the notes and Mr. Johnson gave them to him. Clyde admits glancing at his notes, not exactly cheating, because he did not change his paper as a result of looking at the cards. He didn't thumb through them when taking the test but merely glanced over them once or twice. Prior to taking the examination, Mr. Johnson talked it over with the other fellows in the class. He had dropped some of his other courses as a result of his illness.

WILSON: Does he make good grades usually?

CLARK: Not too high.

WILSON: Did he do better this time than he usually does?

CLARK: Not averaged yet in his class standing.

WILSON: What did you grade his test at this time?

Clark stated that the test has not been graded as yet, but his notes were compared to those on the test.

Dean Williamson inquired how he stood in previous examinations. Professor Clark stated that he had a score of 94 (upper 12 per cent), 73 on a short exam, 97 and 94 in Principles of Economics. He scored 94 on a test which he had missed completely and which he did not take with other students in the class. He had consulted one of the former students in this last course.

Mr. Carson asked if he was permitted to have reference material with him.

This was not to be an "open book" test.

Dean Williamson asked if the material was lifted bodily out of a book. Miss Koepke stated they did not have to be in any certain order to be correct. She also stated that when Mr. Johnson was asked to reproduce this same material after a few days, he was not able to do so.

Mr. Johnson spent ten months in the Army Air Corps as an air cadet. He entered the University in the winter quarter of 1945 with a high school rank of 68 percentile, ACE of 23, English 23.

Dean Williamson asked if he were otherwise satisfactory in school and the reply was in the affirmative.

MISS KOEPKE: He did not refer to these notes until after the paper was written.

FOLEY He was glancing at notes while getting his eraser.

MISS KOEPKE He asserts that he did not change his answers after glancing at his notes. The boy does not know the janitor reported him to Professor Clark. The janitor would rather not have his name brought into the case.

CLARK There is a similarity in his answers on the exam and his notes. He does not know that anyone saw him.

Mr. Johnson next was invited to meet with the Committee and was introduced to all committee members.

Dean Williamson stated the circumstances as presented and reviewed concerning the similarity in paper in respect to answers and cards that were in his pocket. "Do you have any comments? Will you speculate as to the reason for the similarity of answers and notes on cards?"

Mr. Johnson stated that he had written down the most important points so that he could memorize them more readily. Rather than thumbing through notes in a notebook, it was easier to use cards for a quick summary, and they could be used on the streetcar in the mornings. He could "catch up" on things.

Dean Williamson asked why there was such a similarity. Mr. Johnson stated that he knew the material very well when he took the test. Dean Williamson asked if he had memorized them in this order. "Why is there such a close similarity on this question between the notes on your card and the answers to the question?" At a later time you did not have such noticeable similarity. Mr. Johnson stated that again at an even later time there was further similarity. Dean Williamson stated that the order given is precisely the same as those on the notes. Mr. Johnson stated that the order given on the mimeograph sheet is the same.

Mr. Wilson asked if he knew what the questions would be before

taking the examination Mr Johnson replied that he just asked other students general questions such as, "Was there something on diminishing utility?" and when the reply was yes he figured out some things like that. They are the most important things

Mr. Foley asked about referring to cards during examinations Mr. Johnson said thumbing through them is not exactly seeing them Mr. Carson asked how he happened to have the cards in his pocket during the examination. Mr Johnson said that he had checked his notes before the exam and had slipped them into his pocket He also said, "Maybe this wouldn't have come up if they had been placed in some other pocket."

Dean Williamson asked how many times he had looked at them Mr Johnson didn't know exactly. "Do I understand correctly that any time you saw these cards was accidental?" Mr Johnson stated that in reaching for something in his pocket he could just see the top line. (He had received this sweater for Christmas.) He said he had no intention of cheating and wanted to get good marks in this course. He was trying to build up a good average. Last quarter he had earned a C and was trying to get a better grade this quarter.

Professor Clark asked how many times, roughly, he had used the eraser and Johnson replied about five times. Mr. Harding asked whether he couldn't have left it out instead of putting it back into his pocket every time.

Mr. Peterson wondered why he knew one out of six questions four days later. Mr. Johnson stated that perhaps if he had taken some other phase of some other question that he knew better than this, maybe five days later he would have known it.

Mr. Carson asked if he had just these three cards in question in his pocket. Mr. Johnson said that he had others too. Mr. Peterson asked if this was the most important part of the course Professor Clark stated that this was one of the most important. Mr. Johnson stated that he had asked Professor Clark for the notes just before the test so that he could review them.

Dean Williamson inquired if he had been told that he had been observed consulting his notes would that change his story? His answer was no. When asked for other comments Mr. Johnson stated that he didn't cheat. He said that he didn't use information on the cards to help him get a better grade He knew it fairly well. Some of the figures and a couple of the questions were not quite clear and snapped out of his mind after the test.

Dean Williamson asked if the roles were reversed and he had been

presented with this same evidence, would he consider the possibility that there had been cheating? Mr. Johnson said this was difficult to answer because he is the one being accused and he is prejudiced. He would be likely to think that it perhaps might not be cheating. However, it is hard to say. The cards were in his pocket and "facts add up."

Mr. Peterson asked if he knew which card was on top but Mr. Johnson could not remember. He thought it may have been the one on supply and demand. He also recalls seeing another one and also a package of cigarettes marked "Lucky Strikes" and a medical excuse.

Mr. Wilson asked if he were working outside of school. Mr. Johnson works as a mechanic on Saturdays. "Do you feel that your studies are quite hard?" Mr. Johnson replied that some things are easy and others are hard. He is working on different methods of studying in order to get better marks. If something bothers him and is on his mind, he finds it rather difficult to study.

Mr. Johnson had spent 10 weeks in infantry basic as an air cadet. Mr. Foley asked if he were under pressure during examinations. Mr. Johnson stated that he was always under pressure during examinations. Some things he could memorize and forget in ten minutes. Other things he could remember the rest of his life.

Mr. Johnson next was asked to return to another room while the Committee deliberated.

Dr. Parnell stated that there is evidence that Mr. Johnson didn't use the notes to full advantage since the order is not identical. Mr. Harding stated that Mr. Johnson is not a "doughboy" and had had little basic training. The mistakes that he made were absurd.

Mr. Carson asked Professor Clark what his impression was after talking to him. Professor Clark glanced over the examination after Mr. Johnson had turned it in and asked him if he had used notes. When asked to turn in his notes, he gave them to Professor Clark. Mr. Johnson wished to have them back but Professor Clark stated that he would like to retain them.

Miss Koepke asked if Professor Clark had the grade on the final examination. His grade was 79, roughly about a C or a low B.

Dean Williamson asked for the judgment of the committee. Dean Lowry stated that this was not a legal affair but should be considered in terms of what it is best to do in a case of this type with a student in the University. He was indiscreet, he admits.

Mr. Harding stated that he had no desire to be vindictive in this case. His reaction would be to give the boy an F in the examination.

and "a good talking to" and give him another chance. Failure in this examination would not necessarily mean failure in the course.

Mr. Wilson stated that he felt the boy was "guilty of suspicious behavior"

Mr. Green moved that Mr Johnson be given an F for this particular examination and the final grade computed accordingly. The motion was moved and seconded. The motion was carried. Mr Wilson stated that he should be put on probation if anything like this happened again.

Stenographer

February 18, 1947. Johnson appeared before the All-University Disciplinary Committee which decided that he be given a grade of F for this particular examination and his final grade to be compiled accordingly Mr. Harding said he planned to talk to the boy also.

G.E.K.

February 18, 1947. When I informed Johnson of the action, he was very much displeased and inquired if any students were on the committee. He claimed that the committee doubted his statements and he had no other source to verify them. My attempt to explain the action of the committee and the leniency that had been accorded his case did not seem to affect his belligerent attitude.

Case closed.

G.E.K.

CASE 8

The Role of Patience in Counseling

D.S. Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Mary Jones

College Science, Literature, and the Arts Class Sophomore Sex F

A New Case

1. Complaint or charge: Sex misconduct

2. Data made. January, 1946

3. Against whom Mary Jones and John Clark

4. Made or reported by _____

5. Action. Disciplinary probation

6. Date closed 4/21/ 46

7. Date reported to committee, 1/11/46 and 1/24/46

B New charges or case reopened _____

Contact Desk Inquiry 1/7/46

D.S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Mary Jones

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

January 11, 1946

MEMORANDUM

To Disciplinary Committee
From John D. Foley
Subject Mary Jones (Science, Literature, and the Arts)
John Clark (Institute of Technology)

Mrs. Jones, the mother of student Mary Jones, insists that the University review the decision of the sorority council which placed Mary (sorority "pledge") on probation because of alleged indiscreet and immoral action in a fraternity house. In the course of the investigation which followed it was discovered that sex misconduct had occurred at the fraternity house but the essential facts have not been clarified.

Miss Jones is classified as a sophomore in the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts. She is eighteen years of age. Mr. Clark is twenty years old and is registered in the Institute of Technology. Both students are residents of Minneapolis and graduates of Smith High.

These two students are being presented to the Committee for further investigation of the facts and for action.

January 5, 1946 Mary seemed eager to tell her story when she came in for the interview. She inquired if I wanted to hear the story from the beginning and when I suggested that perhaps I should, she started with her being placed on probation by her sorority on December 27, on

a charge of indiscreet and immoral action at a fraternity house party. The charge referred to her behavior at a fraternity house on the evening of December 18. She had gone to the basketball game with John and to the fraternity house afterward. At the house they had gone to the basement first where John had a coke. They then went upstairs to dance after which they sat in a large chair in the living room, which was dimly lit. She was sitting beside him. He kissed her twice with her consent and after the second time he attempted "heavy petting." Without any comment, according to Mary, she said that she would have to go home and proceeded immediately to the women's cloak room. When she came out again, he was in his coat, so together with Grace and her boy friend, they drove home. She said that no mention was made of the above incident—the conversation on the way home was about inconsequential topics, she can't remember what. At least there wasn't complete silence.

Mary had about four dates with John before the evening of December 18. She met him in October. On the evening of December 17, she and George decided to "go steady" and he wanted her to break her date with John for Saturday night. However, she didn't wish to do so because John was being taken in the fraternity on Saturday night and she thought it would be unfair to ask him to get another girl to take her place.

Mary was engaged to a boy in the military service during the summer of 1944, but they decided mutually to break the engagement at Christmas time of that same year. She was attending Siwash College that fall semester and dated other boys although she was engaged. She had "gone steady" with four boys, now she realizes that she didn't care very much for any of them compared to her present feeling for George. She thinks that Grace and a girl by the name of Jane (sorority sisters) started the rumor.

She transferred from Siwash College to the University because she wanted to be with her parents and to have the conveniences that living at home gave her (having laundry done for her, etc.).

G E K.

January 5, 1946. George and John had lived in the same barracks while they were in the army; John was known to drink considerably and wasn't able to "take it" as many of the other fellows did. George called John by telephone the evening that Mary was placed on probation by her sorority, but John didn't want to talk because Mary was with George. So he made arrangements to meet John the next morn-

ing. At that meeting when John had another fraternity brother with him, he told George about the evening at the fraternity house with Mary but only mentioned that he had kissed her twice.

G E.K.

January 5, 1946 John and Bill attended the basketball game with their two dates the evening of December 18, after the game John took Mary over to his fraternity house where he had two beers and she had two cokes. Later they danced upstairs, went into the front room where they were "necking" for a while, and then they returned to the other room to dance again. They reclined on a couch a short time in the rear of the room where they had been dancing (there were two 10-watt lights in this room—no lights in the front room). He took her home around midnight; she was "sick." John and Mary met at the Pledge Walk Out when they both participated in some necking during the evening. After this she began "going steady" with a series of fellows so he didn't see her very often. He had a date with her on Thursday evening, December 10—no necking took place. He took Mary to the basketball game on December 18 because he was at odds with his "steady."

G E.K.

January 7, 1946. Mary took the Multiphasic test in my office before I talked to her. During the interview that followed she related some factors that tend to eliminate some of the differences between the story as she tells it and as John tells it.

1. They met the evening of the Pledge Walk Out last fall—she sat on his lap in the front seat of the car on their return from a local ranch, but claims that there was no "petting" between them. (John claimed there had been.)

2. Mary was menstruating the evening of the party; however, she didn't tell John of the fact. According to her, she may have remarked that she wasn't feeling well.

3. Course of procedure at fraternity house:

a. Coat room

b. Downstairs where she met some of the other couples and had two cokes while John had either two or three.

c. Dancing room where they danced for a while. She says they didn't sit down in that room unless perhaps for a few moments to catch their breath after they had been dancing—she can't remember that they did.

d. Downstairs to look for Grace—didn't find her.

e. Upstairs again. Walked around in the room where dancing

was going on but didn't sit down. Then they went into the living room which was dark and sat together in a large chair. The only room that had a light in it was the entrance hall and basement. If there was a light in the room where they had been dancing, it was a very dim one in a corner—she couldn't recall definitely.

- f There was no petting between the times that John kissed her. When he kissed her the second time, his one arm was around her shoulder—she doesn't know where the other one was, she had one arm on his shoulder and she thinks the other was in her lap, although she can't remember just where she had it.

When I told her that their stories didn't agree and that undoubtedly the Disciplinary Committee would take the case, she asked who the members of the Committee were. I told her that they were appointed by the President of the University. I asked for her telephone number and she gave it willingly. She wasn't or at least didn't appear embarrassed at this interview and didn't seem reluctant to appear before the Committee.

G.E.K.

January 7, 1946. When Dean Williamson told John that Mary's and his stories did not agree, he said he was not surprised. He accepted the idea that they (Mary and he) would be called before the Disciplinary Committee and wanted to know when it would meet. John suggested that perhaps he and Mary should be present together for an interview with Dean Williamson. He finally admitted that he had something to do in initiating the incident that occurred at the fraternity house but added that Mary was willing.

J.D.F.

January 8, 1946. This interview was arranged to allow both Mary and John an opportunity to present their respective accounts of the activities that transpired between them on the evening of December 18, 1945. Their two stories did not agree at several points—a situation that made it evident that one of the stories was fallacious or perhaps that both stories embodied some erroneous factors in them. Mary still maintains that she is completely innocent of any cooperation or part in the attempt at heavy petting, she repeatedly avowed her belief that she was not a contributing factor to the act. I thought that throughout the interview she was a little too much on the defensive for an innocent person. She was ready to implicate her sorority sisters and stated that the University could not dismiss an innocent person from the school.

John has retracted from his first account to Dean Williamson and now, as at a previous interview, he admits that he is partially responsible but not entirely. Both feel that it is inevitable that this case be brought to the Disciplinary Committee. Mary is willing, John dislikes having it go that far and had hoped it could be settled without the Committee's review and action. However, in view of the discrepancies that exist in their stories, he realizes that the Committee must be given the case.

The following facts do not agree in their accounts:

1. John said the incident occurred while they were partially reclining on a davenport in the room where they had been dancing. Mary maintains that they were sitting in a large overstuffed chair in the living room.

2. John mentioned the fact that they had kissed each other in the living room before they started to dance, Mary didn't mention that in her account

It was decided that the case go to the Committee as soon as the Committee can be assembled

G.E.K

January 10, 1946 Grace wasn't antagonistic at the interview but she said she was tired of talking about this affair—no one mentions it at the sorority any more.

1. On the return from the ranch the evening of the Pledge Walk Out, Mary was sitting on John's lap in the front seat with her back toward Grace who was sitting in the center between John and the driver. Mary and John were quiet (not participating in the general conversation) and were indulging in considerable petting and kissing.

2. At the fraternity party (December 18) she saw John and Mary on the davenport in the room where they were dancing. When she saw them, Mary was kissing John. Later she saw them sitting in the living room in a large chair. Mary was on John's lap

3. John came out to Grace and Bob while they were dancing to say that he and Mary were going home. Grace got her coat and the four left together. Little general conversation took place going home.

4. The next day Mary mentioned that she told John she was "going steady" with George—a friend of John's—and had promised him not to smoke or drink. John had asked her sarcastically if "he might dance with her."

5. Bob told Grace on Monday that John had remarked after the

party on Saturday that he had had a "rugged time." One of the fraternity officers had spoken to him about it.

6 Since then Bob will not tell her more—the fraternity fellows said it was not his place to do so. Bob said that Grace shouldn't have told the sorority president about the incident—an opinion of the fraternity fellows.

7 Grace has been on a double date when John has been with another girl whom he respected more than he did Mary. John supposedly has been with this other girl on several occasions.

8 Grace claimed there was a rumor that Mary had been in similar difficulty at Siwash College.

9 One of the sorority girls who is on the Union Wednesday Twilight Dance Committee commented that Mary has been known to dance with both arms around her partner's neck.

G E K.

January 7, 1946

Mr. John Foley
213 Administration Building
Main Campus

Dear Mr. Foley

Re Mary Jones

Mary had an interview with Mrs. Anderson in April of 1945. At that time, she expressed interest in medicine, nursing, and sociology. Her main purpose for coming in at the time was to confirm the choice of medicine, but she was advised to give more serious consideration to social work.

Sincerely,
James Strong
Counselor

January 10, 11, 1946 (Two telephone calls to Dean Brown of Siwash College.) In these two telephone calls (Dean Brown called back herself on Tuesday afternoon) Dean Brown contributed the following information about Mary.

1 Mary attended Siwash College for one semester during the fall of 1944. During that time she lived in the dormitory where she was known as a quiet person in her corridor, she appeared to be a social isolate for she had few friends (was not popular with the girls); she was reticent, did not participate in activities, dated little, often seemed ill at ease or moody. The dormitory house mother had no criticism of Mary's behavior.

2 It was the mother who entered into a tirade when she went to Siwash College later in the fall and told the house mother that she was taking Mary out of Siwash College because of the conduct of the girls on Mary's corridor—the girls were drinking too much. It seems that one night one of the girls came in late in an extreme state of intoxication

3 Mary left Siwash College at the end of the semester voluntarily.

4. Dean Brown felt that she hadn't been able to learn the real conditions for withdrawing Mary from the college

G E K.

January 11, 1946. (Telephone conversation with Miss Carter, girls' counselor in Smith High School.) Miss Carter said that while Mary was in high school there were several criticisms of Mary's indiscreet behavior with the boys in school—"she couldn't keep her hands off the boys." In general they considered that she was very free with them. The home room teacher spoke to her several times about the situation but Mary always took the attitude that the criticism was unfair and the facts had been misinterpreted. The mother thought the girls were jealous of Mary (she was not popular with the girls in school). Mary's mother also explained that because Mary was a good dancer, the boys often came to their home to dance—she was well liked by them. The mother trusted her fully.

G E K

January 11, 1946. The Disciplinary Committee met and after interviewing both students at some length, placed Mary on disciplinary probation indefinitely, and required that she be given extended counseling. The progress of Mary with respect to rehabilitation should be reported to the Committee from time to time. In the opinion of the Committee, the possibilities of rehabilitating John were much less than those for Mary. Consequently he was excluded from the University for an indefinite period, subject to review of his case if and when he should present evidence of changed attitudes and mores.

G.E K.

January 11, 1946. Mary was asked to take the Multiphasic again—she had omitted about 100 items the first time she took it. After she finished the test, I told her the decision of the Disciplinary Committee and interpreted the meaning of "probation" for her. We then discussed some of the aspects of her behavior that led to the situation that brought her to this office. I tried to indicate to her a girl's responsibility in social situations of this nature and that she couldn't think only of herself. Mary displayed no apparent ill will or disapproval of the

action of the committee. She inquired when she should come back to see me, she agreed to come Friday, January 21. At this interview she brought up the question of her sorority status and expressed the thought that she didn't want to become an active member now after learning what happens in a sorority.

G E K.

January 17, 1946 (Conference with Mary's parents and Mr. Foley.) The Jones' are disturbed about the Committee's decision in regard to Mary because it is causing Mary so much anxiety and worry. They feel she has had "to take" too much as it is. They also want to know how the sorority is going to settle with Mary. Mrs. Jones wanted to know if we in the Dean's office realized the kind of parties our fraternities were arranging. She expressed the belief that some of the girls in the sorority were trying to cover up their own misdeeds by accusing Mary unjustly. Mr. Foley assured them that they could appeal to the Disciplinary Committee if they wished. They requested such a meeting with the Committee.

G E K.

January 18, 1946 In an interview with Mary, she told me that the president of her sorority had called her for a "coke date" for this morning. We discussed the sorority situation and she was going to ask the girl just what her sorority status was at this time. Mary thinks that she would be willing to "depledge" but not immediately. She mentioned something about going over to the sorority house for lunch a few times to see how the girls reacted to her. She also wants an apology from the sorority and a statement made to the members of the sorority that the immorality charge was not substantiated. Lest Mary think the sorority entirely in the wrong, I emphasized to her that she had participated in indiscreet behavior for which the committee held her responsible. I agreed that she could ask for an explanation of the immorality charge to the sorority members inasmuch as it was not substantiated. Because of Mr. Foley's telephone conversation with Mrs. Jones, I asked Mary if she wanted me to go with her but she thought it wouldn't be necessary although she added that I might come if I wished. I told her I thought it best, too, that she see the sorority president alone.

G E K.

January 20, 1946. In a brief interview with Dean Williamson and the sorority president, I learned from the girl that the sorority had never charged Mary with immoral behavior but only with indiscreet conduct. When questioned, she claimed that there was nothing in writing concerning this incident or the charge in the sorority minutes

or in any correspondence. Dean Williamson asked her to call Mary before Monday to say that she was sorry if the sorority gave the impression that an immorality charge had been taken, for the only charge was one of indiscreet behavior. Dean Williamson discouraged any idea of a written note to either the parents or to Mary.

Mrs. Jones called later in the day to say that Mary was willing to "depledge" the sorority but that they wanted some clarification or apology from Miss Lake, a national representative, and also from the chapter. I told her Dean Williamson was handling the sorority situation and I was sure that he would see that Mary's status was considered fairly by the sorority.

G E K.

January 14, 1946

MEMORANDUM

To John D. Foley
 Gladys Koepke
From E. G. Williamson, Dean of Students

I saw Carol Taylor, president of the sorority, today concerning Miss Jones. My suggestion was that Miss Taylor take Miss Jones out to lunch some day next week and try to work out a smoother and happier relationship whereby both of them will come to the mutually agreeable conclusion that the sorority and the girl do not have the same ideas or approaches to personal and social questions and personal conduct and therefore will part company in an amicable manner. I said I felt that the sorority had acted hastily and with poor judgment and that hereafter they should tell pledges when they're not satisfied with their behavior so that there could be some opportunity to learn how to behave properly according to the sorority standards. I said it was obvious that there were differences here which could not be reconciled and therefore it would be better if they separated amicably and not by the harsh method of exclusion. Miss Taylor agreed to do that. I also suggested that she ought to discuss the whole thing in general terms with the members of the sorority, particularly stressing the fact that some of them may be a little bit too intolerant of other students who have different ideas and concepts of behavior and mores. Even though they don't agree with other people, they should be careful not to become intolerant. I also said that we probably would have a rough time with the girl's mother but that I did not care to tell anyone in the sorority the full circumstances of the facts as we discovered them so they were not to conclude anything about the original charges except that I did say that the serious charges were not substantiated and that I did not feel that the sorority had any basis in fact for the charges. But there was plenty of indication that the sorority and the girls do not agree

with regard to a good many behavior points. This closes the case as far as the sorority is concerned, unless there is some other "kickback"

January 27, 1946

Dear Mr. Williamson.

Thank you for your wise counsel in the settlement of our misunderstanding with Mary Jones. Although the whole incident is regrettable, I think that our chapter can become more worthwhile for its having had this experience. We will try, particularly in our pledge training and in our relations with the town girls, to achieve a spirit of tolerance as well as a greater unity of thought. By adopting a less formal method of discipline, as you suggested, I think that we can come a step closer to breaking down the hierarchical attitude and replacing it with one of mutual helpfulness.

We appreciate your guidance.

Sincerely yours,
Carol Taylor

January 21, 1946. Mary reported that she had seen the sorority president, but I inferred that the conversation was most stilted. They talked about inconsequential things until Mary inquired about her status in the sorority at which time the girl began to talk about their differences in philosophies—Mary's and that of the sorority. Some place in the conversation the girl mentioned or quoted Dean Williamson. Mary said she didn't want to make a decision about her "depledging" until she had seen me. She arranged to call the girl by telephone that evening.

I told Mary that when the president spoke to her on this matter at any time, she was speaking for the entire sorority as its official representative. I also told her that the girl claimed there was nothing in writing about this situation. I explained to her that if she "depledged" herself the sorority would not be obliged to say anything regarding this matter; however, if the sorority "depledged" her, then they would have to state their reason in writing. Knowing that the sorority president was to call Mary to explain the immorality charge, I tried to get Mary to understand that the girl spoke for the entire chapter. I told Mary that the girl was to tell the chapter that the charge was not one of immorality and to state that such a charge had not been substantiated. Mary wanted to know if she shouldn't be present at that meeting which according to her would have to be Monday evening. I suggested that it would be better for her not to appear.

Mary inquired about the special meeting to be held Monday morning at which her parents would talk to the Disciplinary Committee. She wondered if she were to be present. I told her that she shouldn't

come unless specifically called We made an appointment for the following Wednesday.

G.E.K.

January 24, 1946. The Disciplinary Committee met to hear the appeal from Mr. and Mrs. Jones, in person, concerning the Committee's action in requiring probation status for Mary. The Committee finally decided that since the word "probation" carried criminal implications for the Joneses and since the Committee only meant rehabilitation counseling status with this office for Mary, that they would remove the word probation and make the action that of a counseling situation with Mr. Foley's office.

G.E.K.

January 26, 1946. In an interview with Mary I explained the change in wording in the action taken by the Disciplinary Committee on Monday and what it implied. I further explained that I would be dealing with her alone and not with her parents in regard to this situation. We then discussed our campus mores in regard to "petting" and some factors that are involved and which must of necessity be considered with the subject.

G.E.K.

February 5, 1946. In this interview I pointed out to Mary that her conduct had apparently been extreme enough to cause comment among others and that she was standing out from the crowd for her attitudes and behavior in social situations. I had asked her last week to observe carefully the behavior of others in various social groups and to report what she observed. I find that she is still not very sensitive to the implications of her own behavior or even that of others. As she was standing prior to leaving my office, she asked if I knew of the study made at another university in which it was reported that 80 per cent of university students had premarital relations and another 7 per cent had considered it. The man to whom she had been engaged had mentioned the study to her. I told her I thought the figures were high but that I would check on various studies for her. This leading question will be discussed at greater length at our next interview.

G.E.K.

February 13, 1946. Mary told me about her plans to major in sociology, she doesn't intend to graduate from the University but plans to marry George perhaps a year from this summer. If something would happen so she wouldn't marry, she will continue in the social work field.

We discussed several topics pertinent to her situation now—her ill-

nesses, her attitude toward sororities and fraternities, University social mores, her present social life, and her parents' feeling toward her decisions. Throughout the interview she spoke freely and in most cases to the point. For the first time I detected an admission of a situation that she didn't quite know how to handle. Mary mentioned that she had started to call her former girl friends whom she hadn't seen since she had "pledged" last fall. She said they usually had remarked that they hadn't seen her for some time and they wondered what she had been doing. Mary wondered how far she should go in reestablishing herself with them. She said, "I suppose I will have to go more than half way for a while." To me, she had come perhaps closest to her original need and her greatest problem—her lack of girl friends over a long period of time. I encouraged her to try to find a place for herself within a group of girls and assured her that she would have to go more than half way although she should be careful and try to sense the situation as she went along. I mentioned the value of being part of a group of individuals of one's own sex and what an individual usually contributes to the group to merit one's inclusion in it. I further suggested, since she said that she had been spending most of her free time including lunch, study hours, and dinner with George, that both of them plan to spend part of that time with their own group—he with the fellows and she with the girls.

When I told her that I didn't think I need see her until about the middle of spring quarter unless she wanted to come into discuss something with me, she seemed somewhat surprised and thought that perhaps she would come in earlier—at least she was glad that she might come back if she wanted to talk to me. I told her that after her experiences of the past two months and our numerous discussions that she should be able to take care of most of the situations that came her way.

In view of the fact that she had mentioned that she was making more of her decisions alone instead of having George make them for her, I feel that this move may help to make her more independent. At one time, a short while ago, she thought she was becoming a "clinging vine."

G E.K.

April 6, 1946. Mary came to the interview with a crutch which she has been using for almost a month now because of her disabled ankle. At present she is under the care of a doctor. When questioned in regard to the onset of her illness, she claimed that it started about four years ago when, because of her stiff wrists, she gave up playing the saxophone in the high school band.

Mary and George are still "going steady"—he eats his dinner at her home several times a week and the Joneses allow him and Mary to use the family car whenever they wish. The Joneses approve of George very much and Mrs. Jones encourages him to eat dinners in their home. George's mother has met the Joneses—they belong to the same church. Mary thought that she and George might announce their engagement this summer but they cannot marry until George has finished school. Most of her time is spent with George, both on the campus and at home. She hasn't attended any other activity since she has had this difficulty with her ankle, nor have they attended any dances.

Mary's grades last quarter were quite satisfactory, according to her statement she received 3 B's and 1 C.

From Mary's account of her activities during the past month, I assume that she had made little progress in establishing herself with a group of girl friends. More and more she is limiting her associations to George and to relatives. One weekend she and George took the family car and visited her grandmother in North Dakota. She spoke of attending a cousin's wedding early this summer in Illinois.

She claims she has no worries other than concern for her aged grandparents and her mother's health. She mentioned occasions when her mother, "who is high strung," would say things she didn't mean to Mary and Mary would respond in an angry mood also. However, she added that her mother had not been so irritable the past few weeks.

I am to see Mary again on April 19.

G.E.K.

April 7, 1946. I have discussed this entire case with Mr. Foley who referred me to a chapter in Flanders Dunbar's book *Psychosomatic Diagnosis*. Dean Williamson inquired about the case today also. I shall present the case to Dr. Smythe next week when I have a personal appointment with her to discuss it.

G.E.K.

April 14, 1946. This morning I reviewed Mary's case with Dr. Smythe and asked her opinion for procedures to be used at this time. She thinks I could ask Mary directly if she has any emotional problems that she would like to have help in solving. Then if she doesn't admit having any, to review her whole life pattern with her, pointing out that:

1. Apparently this difficulty has persisted for some time.
2. The occurrence of her arthritic condition appears at times when she is emotionally distressed.
3. Repressed and suppressed emotions can have an effect on people.

4. Since she is being forced to come to me, I realize that she may find it difficult, consciously or unconsciously, to present her real problem to me but I can refer her for help to someone else where she may feel more free, if she so desires.

5 It seems that her real problem is a deep and all-pervasive one.

Dr. Smythe also suggested an article in the *Mental Hygiene* magazine for April, 1946, that she considers a good one because it explains that most people need to learn better techniques for living, and to admit that we need help is not a weakness but an indication of strength. She recognizes that the parent situation in this case is undoubtedly a factor in hampering our therapy with Mary. It will be best if I can persuade Mary to think about her situation alone and make her own decision regarding psychiatric help. Mary is to come in next Monday for an appointment.

G.E.K.

April 19, 1946. Mary came in limping but without her crutch which she left in George's locker this morning because she was feeling so much better. Yesterday was a bad day for her—her ankle seemed "to cramp" on her three different times. The doctor thinks that is a good indication that her arthritic treatments are proving helpful.

In accordance with Dr. Smythe's advice, I asked Mary if she had any emotional problems that she would like help in solving. She again claimed that she had none—her only problem now is her ankle. After that statement I explained to her my thinking about her case and that if she wished, I would like to refer her to someone else with whom she perhaps would feel freer to discuss some of her problems. Her first reaction was one that she couldn't see the necessity for such referral. She felt perfectly free to discuss anything with me. I told her that unless she had any problems that she was willing to disclose to me, I thought our counseling interviews could come to a close for I had helped her all I could. However, I did tell her to think about my other suggestion (discuss it with her parents if she wished, although I preferred that she herself make the final decision) and come back on Wednesday to discuss it further. Again she wanted to know if she might come to this office for help even though our regular counseling interviews were closed. I assured her she might come at any time.

G.E.K.

April 20, 1946. Mr. Jones came in to see Mr. Foley and then stopped in my office for a few minutes before he left. He said he came to request that Mary be removed from "probation" which existed in fact al-

though not in name. I told him that yesterday I had discussed with Mary the possibilities of closing our counseling relationship because under the present conditions I doubted if I could help her further, and I also mentioned my recommendation of a referral for psychiatric help if Mary wished such help. Mr. Jones claimed that both he and Mrs. Jones knew that Mary had no problems other than her ankle condition and that they planned to devote the entire summer to treating that situation. He restated his belief that she was normal in every way and pointed to her love of dancing and her present relationship with George as substantiating factors.

He mentioned that of all the meetings he has attended, the meeting with the Disciplinary Committee was the silliest he had experienced. He referred once more to the apparent injury to Mary's ankle and claimed that if the doctors could prove that her present condition is due to that injury the girls of the sorority would have something to face. He believes that someone within the sorority attempted to injure Mary by shooting her in the ankle.

G E K.

April 21, 1946. Mary was using her crutch again today. When I inquired if her swollen ankle were the same one that had been hit by an obstacle this winter, she said, "No. Whatever hit me in the other ankle, didn't bother me very much—it may have been just a pebble or small piece of glass. I wanted to be sure that no infection set in so I had the doctor clean it out." There was no indication that she held the theory that her parents do in regard to that incident. The doctor also told her it had nothing to do with her present condition.

She said she had discussed the matter of going to a psychiatrist with her chiropactor, her parents, and also with George. She claims that although they felt it wasn't necessary, they wanted her to decide. I explained again my hypothesis and that if she didn't wish to go now, she might want to try psychiatric therapy if she doesn't get relief soon from medical treatment. I stated that my reasons for suggesting such a referral did not indicate that I thought she was abnormal in any way.

Mary told me in some detail of her plans for the summer. She has a cousin's wedding in Illinois to attend and also one here in the city, then she has opportunities to visit her aged grandparents in North Dakota, George's parents, to take a short trip into Mexico, and her uncle's home in Colorado. If she feels better toward the end of the summer she would like to get a clerical job to earn about \$200 to buy clothes for the fall quarter. She wants to come back here next year to finish her junior year. She made no attempt to glamorize her summer or her relatives—

spoke of the uncles who had exchanged farms, the two who lived above a grocery store and the one who drove a truck

I told her I did not think it would be necessary for me to see her again. She said she might come in just before the quarter closed to tell me how she was getting along and she thanked me for helping her these past few months

As the counselor to whom Mary was referred by the Disciplinary Committee, I want to make the following statements relative to the closing of the case:

1. Although Mary has been cooperative during my interviews with her, I am not sure that I was able to reach her fundamental problem. She may have acquired a new perspective and attitude about some things, but the insistent and indignant parental attitude that she has no problems made it difficult for Mary to express one even if she had insight into her adjustments.

2. I have closed the case because I thought no further benefit to Mary could be obtained by prolonging the interviews. However, I still think that Mary could profit by psychiatric help which she refused to seek

G.E.K

CASE 9

Readjustments to Civilian Life

D S Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name James Kramer

College Liberal Arts Class Freshman Sex M

A. New Case

1. Complaint or charge Misconduct—theft

2. Date made March, 1944

3. Against whom. James Kramer

4. Made or reported by C B Smith

5. Action. Disciplinary probation

6. Date closed December 1945—"hold on record"

7. Date reported to committee _____

B. New charges or case reopened _____

Disorderly conduct

1/12/47 Request for readmission—counseling, correspondence,

ref: MMPI admitted on probation

Contact Desk Inquiry 3/10/44

D.S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

James Kramer

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

April 3, 1944 Kramer was picked up by Mr. Smith on suspicion of a theft of a ring from Henry Peterson's office. He visited the office with Bill Thomas while Thomas was conferring with Henry Peterson. The interview occurred in Peterson's private office where he keeps his personal equipment stored. During the interview Peterson happened to notice Kramer going through some personal effects stored in a bookcase and told Kramer to keep his hands off these articles. Later Peterson went to the bookcase to get a ring to have the ring cleaned. The ring was missing. Since Thomas was not in school and since Peterson did not know Kramer's name, about one week elapsed before Peterson could get in touch with Kramer. When he questioned Kramer about the theft, Kramer denied any knowledge. Peterson then referred the matter to Smith.

Smith and I interviewed Kramer and he said that he had not taken the ring. He had, however, asked his father what steps could be taken by someone falsely accused of theft and his father stated that a libel suit should be instituted. We could get no further with the boy so Smith asked him if he would be willing to take the polygraph test. Kramer agreed to take the test.

J D F

April 7, 1944 Kramer appeared to take a test. Instead he produced the ring and admitted he had taken it. He said he had no particular reason for taking the ring because he had an income of about \$125 a

month from the U.S. Veterans Administration and from his father. Kramer says he spends too much money on clothes.

April 9, 1944. Kramer took the Multiphasic.

Scores: P 50
 L 50
 F 55
 Hs. 51
 D 63
 Hy 58
 Pd. 78
 Mf. 71
 Pa. 62
 Pt 57
 Sc 49
 Ma. 48
 L6 59
 L3 55

21 years old

Contact Desk report

HSR 41

ACE 5

Eng. 3

Ohio 66 (General College Norms)

Clerical test

Nos. 69 & 9

Names 74 & 10

Minnesota Personality Inventory

Morale 60

Social Adjustment 98

Family 45

Emotionality 90

Economic Conservatism 65

Kramer canceled winter quarter. He says he did not feel well and consequently expected poor grades.

I talked to Leigh Harden about this boy. Leigh has not had much contact with Kramer but he has heard the same rumor about the boy that Woolf heard at the time of the fight in the local cafe by a second veteran (see special file); namely, that Kramer is an irresponsible person. I asked Harden why Kramer was selected as a representative veteran for a newspaper story and he replied that that was purely circumstantial. Another boy had been selected but when the newspaper

men arrived at the office, they insisted that the veteran be a native of Minnesota. The other boy is from Iowa so Kramer was chosen because he was the first available veteran that could be located as a replacement. Other than this, Harden has no information about the boy.

J.D.F.

April 12, 1944 I talked to Kramer about this matter and he said he does not know why he stole the ring. We talked about other matters such as his reputation as a screwball and he said he went out of his way at fraternity parties to "crack wise." He then said he needed to "grow up" and that he thought he might transfer to another school where he would not be under a handicap as far as his reputation was concerned. He said he was going home for a week and that he would talk to his father about transferring to another school. He said he would see me when he came back.

The college office had nothing further to add about Kramer. He is not considered a very good prospect although his work has been minimally satisfactory. Thus far, he wants to go into business administration but his counselors do not consider it a suitable choice in the light of his aptitude scores.

Recommendation: I have talked this matter over with Mr. Smith and we are wondering whether, now that Kramer is not liable to go back into service (he was discharged for a "nervous stomach"), we can again invoke dropping as a University penalty for such cases. I told Mr. Smith my recommendation would be that Kramer be dropped until fall quarter with the alternative of a year's probation. I made this recommendation because I don't like his Pd score. I told him to consider himself on disciplinary probation until the matter was settled.

J.D.F.

April 19, 1944 Kramer did not come in. He is said not to have returned to school yet.

J.D.F.

April 24, 1944 I talked to Kramer. He has been going out of town every weekend to visit friends and he said he was waiting to hear from me, therefore, he did not appear for his appointment.

He says he is very sorry about this matter and cannot explain why he took the ring. His statements are made in a way that seems glib and superficial and I do not feel that there is any deep regret or remorse on his part.

Kramer says he plans to go to Wilson University next fall. He has been dissatisfied with being in the Liberal Arts College and in his discussion with his counselor he has not been encouraged very much.

about going into Business Administration. While his fall quarter grades were fair, he canceled his winter registration near the end of the quarter giving illness as an excuse, but actually (he states now) he did not think he was going to do well. At present he is working for a bakery and plans to continue this summer. His father purchased an \$800 automobile for him.

In discussing the theft Kramer seems to express greater concern about what his parents or the Veterans Administration would do if they were to find out about it than he does about the feeling of Henry Peterson or the implication of the theft regarding his personality.

He says he has not been acting as "silly" at recent social events as he did formerly. This, of course, is not verified. I get the impression he is trying to patch things up so everything will appear well on the surface—especially to other people.

Recommendation: The more I see of this boy, the less I feel that we will be able to do much with him or for him. I recommend that he be taken before the Committee for appropriate action.

J D F

May 5, 1944 Kramer is registered for spring quarter under the GI program. His father also gives him \$50 to \$75 per month. His attendance has been interrupted by one week (or slightly more) at home. Most of his weekends have been spent away from campus.

I recommend that this case go to the committee. From evidence of "screwball" behavior (Woolf and Harden) both in the fraternity and on campus, his involvement in the café fight (alleged knife fight in alley), scores on Multiphasic, and theft I do not think prognosis is good for rehabilitation in this institution.

J D F.

May 15, 1944 Kramer dropped out of school when he learned he was to face the Committee. A "hold" (illustrated by following form) has been placed on his record.

J D F.

D. S Form 102-44

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
Office of the Dean of Students
Hold on Record

11/4/44

date

To Recorder, Registrar's Office

From Dean of Students

Please place the following notation on the record of

James Kramer—Liberal Arts College

"May not re-register or transfer record without permission from Dean Williamson No information about this record may be released"

☐ Record "See Special File"

☒ Temporary hold do not record "See Special File"

January 12, 1947. Kramer dropped out of school in the spring of 1944 because of some trouble he had here—that is, he says that he quit in order to avoid appearing before "some" committee Since then he has been working in his father's café

He would like to reenroll in order to complete at least a full year of college work which is required for the Applied Mortuary Science course However, he might take the two full years to receive an A A degree He has been helping the mortician in his home town and wants to go into that work eventually. He would like to begin spring quarter if possible.

Kramer states that he has profited from his experience here before he left school and now he realizes the need for an education. He claims he has "more sense" now than he had when he was here before He further added that we wouldn't need to worry about his failure to study or to attend classes; he is willing to come in on probation if we feel that is best for him He reports that he hasn't been in any trouble since he left school

Kramer is to drive in tomorrow to take the Multiphasic inventory and I told him that after we had the results Mr. Foley would either write to him or have him come in for an appointment. He would like to

know by February 2 because of the possibility of attending the second semester at Siwash College if he can't reenter here, he prefers the University however.

Kramer recently took some tests at Vocational High School which are given for veterans. He will not be returning under the GI Bill if he is allowed to come back. He said he was in the Army Air Corps for nine months and was discharged in the fall of 1942.

He spoke a little hesitantly at times but seemed sincere in his attempt to impress me with the idea that he wanted to be given another opportunity here and he hoped Mr. Foley would be able to help him

G E.K

Clipping from the *Minnesota Daily*, January 16, 1947.

" James Kramer gave his pin
to Joyce Wilson "

February 2, 1947. In response to my letter of January 27, Kramer came in today to discuss his request for readmittance to the University

Dr. Jones, in a previous telephone conversation, said he thought the boy was a poor risk with his record of "screwball" behavior and theft in 1944. In a conference with Mr. Foley, however, we decided that in view of his plans and his present attitude, our "hold" would be released from his record and he would be permitted to register and attend classes under *strict probation*.

If readmitted Kramer expects to live at home and drive back and forth to the University with a group of students who commute daily; he will use his father's car when his turn comes to drive. He explained that, although he is a member of a fraternity, he has felt a little tension existing between himself and the fraternity members as a result of the events in 1944—they are friendly, but in a different way. He wants to study in order to maintain a good scholastic record this time and since living at the fraternity would focus his attention on social activities, he plans to live at home.

I inquired about his accident in 1944 when a truck backed into his car at a fraternity party. He said that he was unable to collect any damages from the driver of the truck, so he paid the repair bill for his car which amounted to "fifty some" dollars. His own insurance would take care of anything over \$50 and because the bill was slightly over \$50 he didn't present a claim to his company.

I told Kramer that he would be allowed to reenter under strict probation which implied that there would be no trouble of any kind in-

volving him. He asked whom he would see during that time because of his probation status and I told him that Mr. Foley would see him periodically. There was no evident resentment shown toward this decision and he seemed to understand the reason for his probation status.

He inquired about registration and I referred him to Dr. Williams who would assign him to a counselor to help him with a class program. He is to stop in to see us after he registers. The "hold" will be removed from his record immediately.

Kramer thanked me for the time I had given him, and as he was getting ready to leave, he asked if it would be possible to have a letter written to his mother, Mrs. Kramer, stating that he could register for spring quarter. His parents do not know about his difficulties in 1944 just before he quit school.

G E K

February 3, 1947

Mr. T. E. Price
105 Administration Building
Main Campus

Dear Mr. Price

Please erase the penciled notation on the record of James Kramer of Liberal Arts College. He may now register for spring quarter.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely yours,
John D. Foley
Senior Counselor

The Complexities of Misbehavior Make Reeducation Difficult to Achieve

D.S. Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Sally Crawford
College Home Economics Class Junior Sex F

A New Case

1 Complaint or charge: Misconduct

2. Date made. October 8, 1945

3. Against whom Sally Crawford

4. Made or reported by Mrs Ward

5 Action: Counseling; room changed

6 Date closed _____

7 Date reported to committee _____

B New charges of case reopened • _____

December 10, 1945 sex misconduct—disciplinary probation

A Consultation (4/14/47)—hold on record, closed 4/19/47

D S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Sally Crawford

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

October 8, 1945. (Telephone call from Lynn Drape) The University Housing Bureau had a call from their representative reporting that Mrs Ward was unhappy about one of the girls who is rooming at her house. Sally Crawford, the student, stays out late at night, brings food into her room, uses the telephone for long periods at a time, is insolent, and has often cut classes. Mrs Ward lives at 1012 C Street
G.E.K.

MEMORANDUM

To Miss Koepke
From Leshe R. Michaels

This is the case I referred to you by phone Friday. Please keep us posted on this, especially if the girl is to move.

1012 C Street
Mrs. Ward

October 8, 1945

Householder Complaint versus Student—Sally Crawford

Routine call made by Housing Bureau to householder on September 9, 1945. Householder said she was having a little trouble with one of her students, Sally Crawford. She said student kept irregular hours—not coming in

until 2 A M and 3 A M. However, householder did not want this registered as a complaint but wanted girl to have opportunity to improve situation

On October 8, 1945, householder called Housing Bureau saying she needed some help with girl. She said under no circumstances would she allow the student to remain there any longer. She said she couldn't believe or trust her. She thought it would be wise for student to be placed in a dormitory and be under supervision at all times.

Specific complaints against Sally Crawford

1 Householder returned from meeting at 11.30 P M. on October 7, 1945, to find all lights in house on and student talking on telephone. She said student talks frequently on phone for long periods at a time—one night from 7 to 9 P M and other evenings late in the evening. When asked to shorten conversations due to the fact that householder is on a party line shared with friends who need phone a great deal, the student was insolent and said she "would like to call neighbors and tell them what she thinks of them."

2. Stayed up all night October 7, 1945. Made noise shuffling chair, etc. Was asked at 3 A M to go to bed, but wouldn't and householder was not able to sleep.

3 Student brings food into room. Householder told student she wasn't renting room as housekeeping room. Student stopped for a couple of days and began again to bring food in.

4 Householder was sent contact by Housing Bureau and said when she asked student to sign, student was insolent and said she wouldn't sign anything like that.

Background of Sally Crawford given by Marian Schultz, Executive Director:

1 Student on probation at end of spring quarter, 1944, because of grades due to other factors.

2 Family background poor. Does not get along with one parent. Didn't want either parent to know about low grades and probation or anything happening to her here at school. Home in Chicago.

3 Has feeling of insecurity and is emotionally unstable.

4. Is doing part-time work at a settlement house and is getting along very well with children.

5 Procrastinates. Does everything but study. Did not attend classes regularly. Spent much time talking and playing cards in Union and going to barns to see the animals.

6 Has defensive attitude towards people to whom she should show respect--instructors, etc., e.g., both Dean Black and Miss Wall know her

7 Has some financial worries Works in a cafe downtown Saturday and Sunday nights until 3 A.M.

8 Talks freely with one person. Is silent in groups except for occasional outbursts which are nonconstructive.

Student came into office at Housing Bureau on the afternoon of October 8, 1945

1. Told how she had to stay up all night to study for two mid-terms Said she was quiet but could not study after Mrs. Ward had come in and scolded her Student wondered if it were necessary to "give in" to householder Said if she gave in on that point, householder would soon be running her entire life

2. Does not understand why any "adult" attending the University should be controlled by rules and regulations.

3. Does not want to leave room and house even though they (student and householder) don't get along too well Says it's the prettiest room she's ever lived in

4 Says Mrs. Ward's husband died three years ago and Mrs. Ward hasn't been able to readjust herself. Student said she thought Mrs. Ward needed help of a psychiatrist

5 Says householder does not like foreign students and as student dates them, she always goes to friend's house to have them meet her and stays with friend that night. Student says she always tells householder when she is going to spend night with girl friend

October 12, 1945. Telephone call with Mrs. Ward. Mrs. Ward stated that Sally occupies a double bedroom with Joan Planter, a former teacher who was in the WAC organization during the war (twenty-six years old; transfer from a teachers college). The first Tuesday evening Sally was in the house (first week of fall quarter) she was out until 2.30 A.M. When Mrs. Ward questioned her about the lateness of the hour and reminded her of the rules, she added that perhaps she should look for another place to live. Mrs. Ward doubts that she has tried to find another room.

Sally often keeps her lights on late in the evening to study and one morning she got up at four o'clock to study. Another time she stayed up all night and her roommate, who consequently didn't sleep well, had a final test the following day.

According to Mrs. Ward, Sally is not a neat girl. She has laundered her clothes only once in five weeks. Last year Sally did not attend school, and the previous year she moved her place of residence three times.

On weekends, Sally works at a downtown cafe—5 P. M. to 2 A. M. on Saturday and the same hours on Sunday. Because of the hours she necessarily returns to her room at a very late hour.

She paid her rent for one month in advance on October 7, 1945. On one occasion when Mrs. Ward objected to her long telephone calls because they were on a party line and the other members were complaining, Sally is supposed to have replied that she would like to call the other members herself and "tell them a thing or two."

G E K

October 13, 1945. Interview with Sally Crawford. Sally is a junior in design. She transferred from Crawfordville, where she had been a student for two years, because she liked a larger city better. In 1943-1944 when she was attending the University of Minnesota, she lived in a rooming house on F Avenue—men roomed downstairs and she lived upstairs with two other girls. During the spring quarter she lived with Mrs. Hilberg at 1552 R Avenue. Last year she didn't go to school but worked in a full time position.

Besides working at the cafe this year, she teaches cooking on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons at a settlement house. She belongs to the Cosmopolitan Club and the League for Democratic Socialism.

Sally mentioned that she had used the telephone for a long time one evening when she was trying to get a party organized and found it necessary to call several people. After that she had to study for finals herself. She didn't believe that she bothered her roommate.

The friend of hers who seems to cause Mrs. Ward some concern is an Iranian.

According to Sally, Mrs. Ward told her to look for another room on Monday, October 11. Sally has paid her rent for the entire month. It seems that at the time the contracts came to Mrs. Ward's attention, she asked the girls if they would mind not signing them.

Sally is aware that Mrs. Ward likes the other girl living there better than she does her because Jean is a quiet girl who seldom goes out at night, goes home every weekend, and goes to bed early.

She feels that Mrs. Ward is unusually nervous and becomes disturbed if she knows that someone else is up in the house when she wants to sleep. Mrs. Ward's husband committed suicide three years ago and Mrs. Ward hasn't adjusted to that situation yet.

I asked Sally to talk to Mrs. Ward this evening to inquire if she may stay there a few days longer until the Housing Bureau has an opportunity to find another room.

G.E.K.

October 13, 1945. Telephone call to Mr Michaels Mr Michaels thought that if the situation warranted Sally's leaving Mrs Ward's place, that they would be able to locate a place for her.

G.E.K.

October 14, 1945. Interview with Sally Mrs Ward is allowing Sally to remain in her house until she finds another room. Apparently their chat was a pleasant one, for Mrs Ward told Sally about her own nervous condition and referred again to her husband's death. At least Mrs Ward didn't appear antagonistic at this time Sally realizes that there is a personality conflict between them and that perhaps it is best for her to move

She is working at the cafe because of the greater financial returns compared to a similar position near the campus

Sally doesn't believe that her roommate objects to her having the lights on late for studying as Mrs. Ward claims. Sally also wondered to what extent a roommate might use the telephone in a house

G.E.K.

October 14, 1945. Telephone conversations with Mrs Walters in the Housing Bureau Mrs Walters has talked to Sally and also to Mrs. Ward and she believes that it is best for Sally to move because of their personalities According to Mrs. Walters, Sally is doing a good job at the settlement house where she teaches cooking. Mrs. Walters is trying to find another room for Sally

G.E.K.

October 19, 1945. Interview with Sally Sally was able to get a room at Mrs Mason's home where she is to work for her room Now she will not find it necessary to work at the cafe. She has moved all her possessions from Mrs Ward's home including her trunk which she wanted to leave there at first I will see Sally again in a few weeks to see how she is getting along at Mrs. Mason's home.

G.E.K.

November 9, 1945. Mrs Mason called because she was concerned about Sally Crawford. Sally has been on three or four dates with an Iraqi boy and has not returned before 2:30 A.M., one time it was 3:15 A.M. before she returned.

Sally gets along well with Mrs Mason's daughter who is thirteen years old and she has been pleasant around the house

This morning Mrs. Mason returned home to find that Sally had done considerable dry cleaning in the basement, had left the clothes hanging in various places and had left the remaining open cans of gasoline in the basement. The gas fumes were evident in the upstairs rooms. Mrs. Mason said she was so upset that had Sally been there she thinks she would have asked her to move immediately.

So far Sally hasn't done a great deal of work in compensation for her room rent. She washes the dinner dishes in the evening—a task that requires about twenty minutes and occasionally has done a little cleaning. A few times she has remained at home to be there with the Mason daughter when the parents have been out for the evening. Mrs. Mason, however, said she could handle the work situation, but she was concerned about the late hours Sally seemed to keep on dates.

G.E.K.

November 17, 1945. Telephone conversation with Mr. Jones. Sally transferred from Crawfordsville College in the fall of 1943 with 68 credits of approximately C value, she seemed an average prospect at that time. During the winter quarter of 1944 she accumulated 16 credits of F grades and her spring quarter's work showed little improvement; consequently she was dropped by the Students' Work Committee. In the fall of 1944 she appeared before the committee, as was her privilege, to present her case, but she was not allowed to return. Somehow she established her residence in Minnesota by working during 1944-1945, and when she applied for admission in the fall of 1945 she was admitted. This was also partially due to an oversight on the part of the Admissions Office. According to Mr. Jones, her application would have been rejected had the facts been known at the time. However, since she has been admitted, Dean Black talked to her (September 3) and told her it was imperative that she make a good record in order to remain at the University.

In 1943-1944 Miss Bradford, her advisor, reported that Sally's instructors complained about her frequent absences from class when she used the excuse that she failed to hear her alarm clock. She was observed to be spending considerable time in the Ag Union playing cards and associating with other low-grade students. She was not a typical Design girl. Thinking that work in group activities might help her, the Ag Union program consultant had Sally placed on a committee but she didn't follow through on the work, so consequently wasn't placed on other committees.

Miss Wall, her English instructor, believes that Sally is trying to turn over a new leaf this year. She had some outstanding assignments that

were not prepared on time, but she had finally finished them. She may receive a C in the course for this quarter if her test is satisfactory

Mr. Jones is willing to cooperate in any way he can on this case, believing that we should try to do all we can for her since she has been admitted.

G E K

November 17, 1945. Interview with Sally Crawford Sally feels that she is getting along satisfactorily at the Mason home. I explained the hours to her again and she assured me that she had only occasional dates and then always came in on time. I might have pursued this statement further in order to learn more about her Iraqi boy friend and to get nearer the topic about which Mrs. Mason called me—namely, the occasion when she came home about three o'clock in the morning—but instead I linked up her hours with the fact that she was on probation and therefore couldn't allow herself to lose sleep. Apparently, when she realized that I was aware of her scholastic standing, she relaxed somewhat and decided to face her difficulty frankly. She wasn't able to control her tears or the slight shaking of her hands as the following facts came to light in the conversation that ensued

1. For two weeks she has been physically upset because she realized examinations were approaching and knew the significance of their results on her future registration. She went to a doctor who gave her a sedative to quiet her nerves, she didn't think it was very effective, however. During this time she has eaten very little food.

2. Her greatest difficulty, according to her, in studying is writing papers. She sits down to write and immediately feels sick. I suggested the How-to-Study course for her because she admits that she doesn't know how to organize a paper or carry through on a plan. She hasn't tried to register for winter quarter yet although she knows a late registration fee may be added to her expenses.

3. She plans to discontinue teaching the cooking classes at the settlement house as she has done twice a week this fall. However, she still needs employment, but doesn't wish to work on the campus—prefers to get away from the campus if possible.

4. At present she is planning to go home for her Christmas vacation in order to rest. She adds that her father and she do not get along very well and usually they argue considerably. He leaves the house about 5 A.M. for work and doesn't return until nearly 7 P.M., so she will have some peace during the day. Their chief subject of contention seems to be centered on her being away from home. Sally feels that he would like to have her closer to the family. He once objected to her using lip-

stick when she was younger. Sally likes to travel during the summer, he would prefer she stay at home.

Because the hour was late and she seemed particularly exhausted, I terminated the interview with the agreement that she come back as soon as she returns from her vacation at home. She seemed very willing and admitted that she should attempt to solve some of her problems

G E K.

January 7, 1946 Telephone call from Mrs. Walters who reports that this morning Mrs. Mason called to inquire about Sally Crawford who had not returned from her Christmas vacation. Sally's mother called Mrs. Mason from Chicago on Saturday, January 4, to ask if Sally were there. Sally is supposed to have left home January 1. The settlement house had also called to inquire if Sally had returned and if she would be ready to teach her cooking class on Tuesday at 3:30 P.M. (January 7). Norma Brandon, Sally's girl friend, did not know where Sally might be, she had not been able to get in touch with her.

Mrs. Mason had commented that Mrs. Crawford seemed to be a very normal mother who was concerned about her daughter. However, Miss McDougal, who knows both Sally and Norma, claims that Mrs. Crawford gives that impression at first but she wouldn't be surprised if by now Mrs. Crawford had reported Sally to the police department.

Mrs. Walters is trying to identify the Iraqi boy whom Sally has dated frequently. His first name is Ismal.

(Telephone call to the settlement house) A message was left for Sally to get in touch with me immediately if she reports to teach her cooking class today.

Sally's grades for fall quarter as reported by Mr. Jones on the Farm Campus are:

3 credits of B

7 credits of C

5 credits of D

G E K

(Observation) Monday morning on the street car Sally, who was seated at the front of the car, smiled at me. The car was somewhat crowded so I didn't attempt to go forward to speak to her. I got off at the campus and as far as I could determine by watching the crowd, Sally got off a block later and was walking toward the campus.

G E K

January 8, 1946. (Interview with Norma Brandon) Norma lives alone with her father (mother is dead), at present they have a young

couple living with them temporarily Norma keeps house for her father She has been a friend of Sally's since the year Sally transferred to Minnesota from Crawfordsville

Norma relates the following facts concerning Sally

1 She left home when in high school because of family conflicts, and continued her high school education by working as a waitress.

2 Norma states that Sally attended the University of Chicago before going to Crawfordsville

3 Sometime in Sally's life she spent a year with an aunt who lives in the East This aunt was a strict fundamentalist who requested that Sally attend prayer meetings frequently and give up social activities in school. This experience has turned Sally against religion.

4. Last year Sally remained in Minneapolis although she couldn't attend the University. She was living at the Y.W.C.A. and working as a waitress at many different places

5 Norma claims that Sally has always been very nervous and tense She needs affection and a sense of security according to Norma's observation

6 Sally stayed with Norma for one day before Christmas after she left the Mason home

7 Norma said the Iraqi boy's name is Ismal Ayad.

8 Norma says that Sally went to Milwaukee shortly after Christmas Day where she has friends that she made through the Young People's Socialist League

9 Norma didn't know where Sally was staying because she herself called the Mason home on Monday to inquire about Sally

10 Miss Frances Meyers who is working with the Minnesota Council of Religious Education knows Sally through their work together in the Congregational Young People's Organization two years ago.

Norma was going to visit with Sally at the Mason home after she left my office She preferred that I say nothing to Sally about her visit with me

January 8, 1946 Telephone call with Mrs. Walters who had heard from Mrs. Mason to the effect that Sally had reported to her home on Tuesday Mrs. Mason is concerned about the girl because of her erratic behavior, now Mr. Mason is beginning to surmise that something is wrong with her

January 9, 1946 Interview with Sally who said she was feeling much better since she had learned her marks and had registered. She received the following record.

Chemistry	5 credits	D
Political Science	3 credits	C
Rhetoric 51	3 credits	C
Literature	3 credits	B

This quarter she is taking two courses she failed previously—Rhetoric 22 (speech) and Zoology 15—and two additional courses, Political Science 1 and Humanities 2. She wanted an advanced course in Political Science but wasn't allowed to register for it.

She said she was sick most of the time she was at home, nauseated and couldn't eat. She didn't see her father very much so there was little opportunity for them to disagree or argue. She wasn't able to eat Christmas dinner with the family because she was too ill. She left home after New Year's Day, came back to the cities where she stayed with a married girl friend. She didn't think it was necessary to report to the Mason home when she arrived.

Sally has been feeling this way physically for almost five weeks, but she thinks that now she is registered and can get back on a regular schedule, she will feel better. She still cannot eat very much at a time, but eats often to avoid the nauseated feeling.

After Mrs. Mason told her that her mother had called to inquire about her, Sally called her mother and said her mother seemed quite calm after Sally said she was feeling better. She also talked to her younger brother who reported he had two new fish for his tropical fish collection.

From this point in the interview I allowed the "nondirective procedure" to develop. Sally recalled in some detail the relationships that existed in her home. Apparently her father favors her, but doesn't realize that Sally hates him because of his very domineering attitude toward her mother and two brothers. He did buy her a dress coat for Christmas. His greatest fear, according to Sally, is that she will marry someone who is not an American or a Protestant. Her mother and smaller brother know about Sally's Iraqi boy friend, but she didn't tell her father. Her father comes from a strict Scotch Presbyterian farm family and married after World War I. Sally mentioned that her mother had never had many boy friends and really didn't wish to marry Mr. Crawford. The family moved to Chicago during the depression when Sally was about five years old. She feels that her father must dominate situations, especially at home. One night during this past vacation, he returned home after a meeting at about one o'clock and wanted Mrs. Crawford to prepare dinner for him. Mrs. Crawford was in bed and Sally, who was awake, told him he couldn't expect that

at such an hour; he didn't argue with her then but went to bed without eating

Sally is to see Mr. Snodgrass at the Student Counseling Bureau at two o'clock tomorrow to discuss her study habits (appointment made during interview) and she is to make her own appointment for a complete physical check up at the Health Service in order to learn more about her ill health during the past five weeks. She will call for another appointment with me in two weeks

Sally belongs to a pacifist organization here in the city.

G.E.K.

January 10, 1946. Telephone conversation with Mr. Snodgrass who said he had not been able to convince Sally that she should take any of their tests to help her analyze her study difficulties. She, herself, believes that they arise from a block she has. Sally mentioned to him that she had stuttered when she was in high school and at that time she was mortally afraid to talk in public. Her present difficulty is chiefly concerned with her writing of papers for her classes; she will find most anything else to do in order to avoid starting to work on the paper. She blushed considerably while talking to him and seemed quite nervous. He noted her finger nails that were bitten to the quick. Mr. Snodgrass believes that her problem is one of an emotional nature.

G.E.K.

January 10, 1946. (Conference with Miss McDougal, Miss Schultz, Mrs. Walters, Mr. Foley) This conference was held in my office at 4 30 P.M. and was called rather hurriedly after a telephone call from Mrs. Walters, when she stated that immediate action was necessary since Sally was contemplating suicide—a report that had come to Miss McDougal. At the conference Miss McDougal told of her relationships with Sally through Sally's girl friend, Norma Brandon. It was Norma who went to Miss McDougal yesterday to report that Sally was pregnant and was thinking of suicide. Norma wondered what could be done for her. Miss McDougal gave a brief statement of Sally's personality as she knew her. According to her, Sally has always given the appearance of being very tense and nervous. Norma herself had once said that Sally is so "tense that she makes me tired." She is characteristically evasive and recently has been concerned about her grades.

Mrs. Walters stated that Mr. Jones had written a letter to Sally within the last two days to inform her that if she were to be permitted to remain at the University next quarter, her grades would have to improve. She still does not have a C average.

Miss Schultz mentioned that because of Sally's observed relationships

with foreign students, then foreign student program had been retarded two years ago. They have always been careful not to include Sally in their conferences with foreign students at a nearby camp. A short time ago the Y.W.C.A. on the Farm Campus missed a sum of \$6 and suspicion seems to point to Sally although they haven't been able to prove it. Since that time Sally has tried to avoid Miss Schultz as much as possible, one reason that Miss Schultz believes that Sally may be the one involved in the theft of the money.

Miss McDougal was to see Norma at a Foundation dinner that evening at which time she was going to tell Norma to have Sally stay with her all night in order to have someone with Sally. I was to see Sally at 9:30 A.M. the next morning and take her to Dr. Cottingham with whom an appointment had been arranged.

G E K.

January 11, 1946 Interview with Sally Crawford. I inquired about Sally's interview with Mr. Snodgrass the previous day in regard to her study habits and then I asked her directly if she weren't pregnant. She immediately denied it saying that she had menstruated last week. She asked me why I thought she might be in that condition and I told her I was almost sure that her continued nauseated condition pointed to that possibility. I told her that she must be honest with me if she expected us to help her with her problems and I also mentioned that I wasn't here to sit in judgment upon her or to punish her. She still denied the fact, so I then explained to her that since she had not made an appointment for a physical examination, I had made an appointment for her for eleven o'clock and would take her over to the doctor. I told her that I couldn't proceed with her case until her physical condition was checked. She hesitated and tried to think of an excuse to avoid going to the doctor by stating that she had an appointment uptown, but I said that this other appointment was more important. Previous to this she asked me how I knew Norma Brandon whom I had called the previous night to have Norma tell Sally to see me in the morning. I explained that in an effort to reach her, I finally tried to contact Norma whom she had mentioned once as being a friend of hers.

Norma was waiting for Sally in the outer office; Sally introduced her to me and the three of us walked over to the Health Service where I left the girls in Dr. Cottingham's office.

G E K.

January 14, 1946 In a telephone call from Dr. Cottingham, she stated that Sally was pregnant, but she believed that Sally would make continued efforts to have an abortion. Otherwise she found her in

good physical condition and also found no need for psychiatric assistance. She could not justify the need for a therapeutic abortion

G E.K

January 15, 1946 (Telephone call from Miss McDougal) Norma Brandon had talked to Miss McDougal this morning to tell her that Sally was being put through some "grilling experiences" in this office which were making Sally very much upset. Norma and Sally cannot understand why Sally must admit her pregnancy to Mr. Foley. I tried to explain to Miss McDougal that because of other contributing factors to Sally's situation we were forced to know definitely what her physical status was and that because we were trying to protect her (Miss McDougal's relationship to both Sally and Norma) we had to proceed very carefully in this situation.

She mentioned that Norma was planning to talk to Dr. Cottingham in order to determine just what she can do for Sally. Sally knows of her intention to do so. Also Sally plans to return to Dr. Cottingham in whom she has a great deal of confidence.

I told Miss McDougal that I would try to see Norma tomorrow in an attempt to clarify her understanding of what we are trying to do for Sally in this situation.

G E.K

January 16, 1946 (Interview with Norma Brandon re Sally Crawford)

1 Ismal Ayad is the father of the child, Sally plans to tell Dr. Cottingham but she will not tell either Mr. Foley or me because if she gets him into trouble she is afraid he will not supply her with the necessary money that she needs at this time and for which he has promised his support.

2. Sally told her feeling about Ismal to Norma last night. Most of the time he has been very kind, considerate and courteous to her, however there have been times when he has been almost brutal with her—on these occasions she cannot understand his behavior. The girls wondered if he might not be taking "dope" (a mere supposition on their part) since the Arabic slang for "dope" was the first word he taught Sally of the Arabic language. However, he has never offered Sally dope of any kind or marijuana, but Sally has noted that in spite of his ample allowance he frequently has borrowed money from friends. He hasn't purchased any new clothes recently and is living in a reasonably priced rooming house.

3 The year Sally was living at the Y.W.C.A. she had occasion to know several girls who found themselves in the predicament she is in

at present and they had no one to whom to turn; consequently she wants to keep her relationship with Ismal an agreeable one, at least until he has seen her through this situation.

4. Sally hesitated to tell Mr. Foley and me the facts in her case for fear of expulsion from school.

5. Sally saw a doctor while she was in Chicago at Christmas time who confirmed her idea that she was pregnant.

6. Sally feels that Ismal doesn't realize what she faces now although he has offered his money to cover expenses.

7. Sally had not as yet paid her tuition for this quarter, so I told Norma to do the best she could to get her over to the Business Office to clear her record. Norma thought that Sally had the necessary funds last night to pay the bill.

8. I informed Norma of Mr. Foley's and my responsibility in the case, of our interest in Sally's welfare and of the difficulties we were encountering—namely, Sally's refusal to cooperate with us. Norma is to get in touch with either Dr. Cottingham or me if anything new develops in this case. She gave evidence of understanding our situation and seemed very cooperative throughout the interview; she spoke very frankly, freely and without hesitation. She commented that she was glad I had called her in since she had learned so many more factors to the situation last night. She believes now that Sally wouldn't fear talking to Mr. Foley again, although she doesn't hold any expectation that Sally will reveal Ismal's part in her situation.

G E K.

January 23, 1946. Telephone call from Mrs. Mason, who called to tell us that Sally had not been home on Tuesday or Wednesday nights and that Norma had called her each time to say that Sally would be staying with her. However, when Mrs. Mason called Norma's home on Wednesday morning and again on Thursday morning, the lady who answered said that Sally had not been there the previous night.

Last Saturday Sally had started to do some work for Mrs. Mason but became ill so Mrs. Mason had her go to bed and gave her a warm lunch at noon. Mrs. Mason doubts if Sally eats regularly or well. For a while since Christmas Sally appeared to be more relaxed; last week she again became tight and nervous, however, with frequent stomach upsets.

Mr. and Mrs. Mason will not be home from Friday morning until Monday morning—another school girl will be staying with their daughter.

G.E.K.

January 24, 1946. Interview with Norma Brandon, who reported that Sally and she were together on Tuesday and Wednesday nights, but they were staying at the home of friends of hers. Norma said that Sally has been quite weak, she realizes now how much she needs help, especially from Dr. Cottingham whom she expected to see sometime this week yet. Norma said it was too bad Sally didn't see a psychiatrist five years ago.

I asked Norma to call Mrs. Mason on Monday to explain that they were at a friend's home. I told her Mrs. Mason was naturally concerned about such a situation as a result of the telephone call from Sally's mother after Christmas. Norma agreed to call. As she left, she commented with a smile that she was getting first hand experience in case work.

Sally is on a probationary status until she is satisfactorily adjusted to the campus and her work again.

G.E.K.

February 3, 1946. Interview with Sally Crawford, who came in to inquire about registering for spring quarter, Dr. Cottingham had suggested that she come to this office. She is only carrying two subjects now, in the field of political science, and she would like to transfer from the College of Home Economics to Science, Literature, and the Arts where she can continue in political science as a major. Sally had made an appointment at the Counseling Bureau with Miss Johnson for vocational counseling. I told her we would investigate the possibility of her transfer to another college in view of the fact that her grades have been rather low since she came to Minnesota. She will come back Thursday to see me regarding the possibility of a transfer. I noted that although she was somewhat embarrassed to see me again after the incidents of the past month, she is much calmer, less nervous, and less confused.

She isn't to work for another month according to Dr. Cottingham's order and then she hopes to continue her teaching at the settlement house—she understands they have a substitute for her now. I noticed that she was wearing a diamond of considerable size on her right hand—since I have not noticed it before, I assume she acquired it during the past month.

G.E.K.

February 6, 1946. I had no information for Sally except that as soon as Dean Selig returned, Mr. Foley would be able to investigate the possibilities of her transfer of colleges. The last day for registration is February 28. We will call her as soon as we have definite information.

for her, in the meantime she is taking some tests at the Counseling Bureau to help her with her vocational plans.

G E K.

February 12, 1946 (Information conveyed after a conference with Mr. Foley.) I told Sally to request a transfer from Home Economics to Science, Literature, and the Arts by applying in the office on the Farm Campus and we would see Dean Selig over here, to arrange an approval for the transfer if possible. She thought she would make the application for transfer tomorrow morning.

G.E K.

March 25, 1946. In a telephone call to Mrs. Mason, she stated that the Iraqi boy had not been calling on Sally for some time; she recalled one of the last telephone conversations Sally had with him when Sally gave him evasive answers and was trying to discourage him from calling her.

She feels that Sally's habits are more regular now than formerly—she gets up about seven o'clock in the morning (she used to get up any time between nine and twelve o'clock) and she is in her room studying more often during the evening. Sally mentioned to her what a good time she had in the hospital and how much better she felt when she awoke early in the morning.

Mrs. Mason believes that Sally is taking a more active part in campus activities than she did earlier in the fall.

G.E K

May 10, 1946. Sally was accepted in the senior class of the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts on probation for this quarter, she has been taking three courses in political science (3 credits each) and one 5-credit course in logic. She is enjoying all these subjects, and because of her new interest in logic, she thinks that she would like to minor in philosophy.

She plans to leave for her home in Chicago next Wednesday where she expects to stay for a week when she will go to New York City to live with friends and find a job for the summer. She needs to earn some money because she has had some expensive dental work done at the Health Service this past quarter. Her mother has written her stating that she is to have an operation this summer and would like to have Sally at home. Sally thinks this is an attempt to get her to remain at home all summer, so she wrote her mother that she planned to be home this next week only.

Next year Sally would like to live in a one room apartment or have a

room some place where she could have kitchen privileges; she likes to cook. She has resumed her work at the settlement house and recently has taken her classes on picnics. She claims her only other outside activity has been her association with the Socialist League, but she plans to be more active with that organization next fall.

She told me that she is still seeing Dr. Cottingham regularly and that she has helped her with her family and study problems. Dr. Cottingham has given her a sedative to take before her examination to quiet her nerves.

Sally seemed a little embarrassed when she first came in (her neck and cheeks were flushed) but she appears to be less confused and much calmer than on previous occasions.

G E K.

September 10, 1946. Sally came in by her own request for an appointment. She had called for an appointment with Dr. Cottingham shortly after the fall quarter started and was disappointed when she learned that Dr. Cottingham had left. Sally has seen Dr. Pequot twice and is to see her every two weeks for a while.

When I inquired about her summer, she immediately responded with quite a glowing statement, however, as she told various facts about her experiences this summer I felt that it had been a rather lonely one for her.

She spent three weeks at her home in Chicago during which time her mother repeatedly postponed her operation with the intent, as Sally claims, to keep her home all summer. At the end of the three weeks she went to New York City where she obtained employment as a waitress in a restaurant and lived with an older group of women whom she met through a socialist club. After working for one month, she burned her hands by dropping a tray of cups containing hot coffee so was forced to quit, but was able to receive compensation insurance. She became disgusted with the group with whom she lived because they would go out on the streets to "picket" various industries and they didn't keep the apartment very clean. After she burned her hands she would plan her day alone and would often go to one of the beaches with a book to read. Frequently she went to the library. A friend of hers from the Hennepin County Welfare Office met her in New York and the two of them returned to Minnesota. Her return from New York with this friend seemed to be the "high point" of her summer.

Sally is living at the Village Group this fall and will not be working, however she feels that perhaps she should find some kind of work to

help her financially during winter quarter. During the first week of school she built a desk in the Union Craft Shop for her room; she likes to go over there to work.

Her family situation still seems to concern her considerably. Her younger brother stutters, she claims, and she did also until she left home and went to Clawfordsville to school. This summer her mother refused to allow her brother to go to a two week camp that Sally thought he should attend—her mother said she wouldn't feed the tropical fish that her brother raises so he was forced to make the decision not to attend.

Sally is to come in on September 29 for her next interview. I believe she has improved considerably in her scholastic situation, but at present she seems to be lonely and somewhat confused in other aspects of her adjustment.

G.E.K.

September 29, 1946. I had a short interview with Sally.

G.E.K.

October 6, 1946. Sally reported that she is working at the Converted Club where she does some typing at 80 cents an hour. She enjoys the work and the people she meets there.

She hasn't heard from her mother for a long time; apparently her home situation has changed very little.

Sally claims that her life is very dull and uninteresting here. She has had no dates this fall; on Saturday evenings she and another girl usually go out for ice cream after they have spent the earlier part of the evening studying or reading. She has a new book on Eugene V. Debs that was given to her recently and which she is reading at present. On Sunday she attends various church services—she doesn't go to any one regularly. She says that she sees Dr. Pequot every two weeks.

So far she has found few girls she likes at the Village Group; however she does find her roommate congenial.

I discussed her part in making new friends in a situation such as she faces at the Village Group where she is not known. And I also mentioned that most of our lives are made interesting by little things and not the unusual events. She is to keep a schedule of her activities for one week and bring it with her the next time I see her.

G.E.K.

October 18, 1946 Dr. Pequot called me last week to tell me that she thought it best if I ceased my contacts with Sally. Sally told her that every time she has an appointment with me, it recalls all the unfortunate incidents of last year.

Sally brought her time schedule with her to this interview and it does

indicate that she has little social life. Because of my previous conversation with Dr. Pequot, I didn't talk with Sally very long. I told her that since she was seeing Dr. Pequot I thought it best if she see her regularly and that with such competent help I didn't believe it necessary for her to continue seeing me also. However, I told her I would be glad to see her at any time she felt I could help her. I recalled for her that she came to me this fall on her own initiative. Sally stated that every time she comes to this office she thinks about the events of last year and is upset about it consequently. I told Sally that this would be our last interview unless something else came up which would necessitate my talking to her or unless she herself wished to consult me sometime in the future.

Case closed and client removed from probationary status.

G E K.

April 14, 1947. Sally was in the hospital over the weekend under the care of Dr. Pequot, the psychiatrist, who has been seeing her regularly this year. Because Sally had not been accepting Dr. Pequot's suggestions, Dr. Pequot recommended that perhaps the best thing for Sally to do was to quit school. She told her she might come back to her if she ever needed help. Sally canceled out of the University on March 30, 1947 (verified). She is still living at the Village Group and according to Mrs. Truehart, director at the Village, she may remain for the balance of the quarter because there is no waiting list and they have the room.

Yesterday Mrs. Truehart called me to express her concern for Sally's weekend plans—she was planning to hitch-hike to Duluth and take the North Shore Drive to the Gunflint Lodge where she intended to stay at a youth hostel. Mr. Twinger of the Youth Hostel group in Minneapolis called Mrs. Truehart after Sally had seen him to indicate his concern for her. Sally had told Mrs. Truehart she was going with a friend from South St. Paul; however, Norma Brandon—a girl friend of Sally's—thought Sally planned to go alone. She was leaving this morning and planned to return for "her classes on Monday"—her report to Mrs. Truehart. I talked to Dr. Pequot about our concern for Sally and she believed that Sally could take care of herself. Dr. Pequot felt that the Youth Hostel group should forbid her to go if accommodations were not open this early for hikers—hostel on Gunflint Trail is still closed.

I called Mrs. Truehart back last night and told her it seemed best that we not interfere with Sally's plans. Mrs. Truehart states that Sally's mother died during the Easter holidays this year.

A "hold" has been placed on Sally's record.

G.E.K.

A Case of Erratic and Minor Behavior

D.S Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Margaret Wilson

College Education

Class Freshman

Sex F

A. New Case

1. Complaint or charge. Misconduct

2. Date made 1/46

3. Against whom Margaret Wilson

4. Made or reported by Mrs Lang

5. Action Hold on record

6. Date closed 2/6/46

7. Date reported to committee: _____

B. New charges or case reopened

A. 4/27/47 Request for information—counseling—closed 4/47

B. 5/24/47 Request for information—counseling—closed 5/28/47

Contact Desk Inquiry 1/16/46

D S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Margaret Wilson

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER. Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

January 19, 1946 Mrs. Lang from West Hall called regarding Margaret. The week of January 14, Margaret decided that she would quit school, so she moved from West Hall to the home of Mrs. Olson who has a rooming house for business girls. The first night Margaret stayed there, Louise Jackson (from West Hall) and she came back to Mrs. Olson's home about 2:30 A.M., made quite a commotion, and awakened Mrs. Olson who was awakened again at five o'clock because of the disturbance caused by Louise, who claimed she had a cramp in her leg. Mrs. Olson called Mrs. Lang about Louise and also told Margaret that she would have to look for another place to live. Margaret had paid her rent for one week so she left her luggage there, but stayed with Louise at West Hall after that first night.

Then, since Margaret reported to the Student Housing Bureau to get assistance in finding a room, I was called about her because she apparently had canceled out of school.

In this interview with Margaret I told her she would have to decide if she were to continue in school (she hadn't attended classes thus far). I found her most confused and rather indifferent to the immediate problems that confronted her. She had quit her job at a local beach club and had hopes of getting a waitress job at a downtown restaurant. I made arrangements with Mrs. Lang so that Margaret could stay at West Hall until we could find a room for her if she decided to finish

this quarter in school. I told Margaret she would have to make up her mind by tomorrow. She was to take the multiphasic test this afternoon

G E K.

January 20, 1946. In this interview, Margaret stated that she had decided to remain in school and try to complete her 5-credit course in psychology which she hadn't attended so far. She would work at the Union in the kitchen where she claimed they had promised her a job. Because it seemed to me that Margaret was just drifting from day to day, I gave her three things to do before she came back to see me on the following day.

1. Report to the Student Housing Bureau.
2. See Mr. Sweeney about completing work in class.
3. Check with the Student Union about her job there.

In reply to my question regarding her reason for coming to the University, she explained that she wanted to become an air stewardess and needed two years of college work. She took 9 credits during the fall of 1945 and had registered for 10 credits for winter quarter but had canceled out of the one 5-credit course. Margaret is twenty years old and had worked at the beach club for seven months when she quit January 12. Although Margaret mentions the necessity to earn money, it is known that she has entertained girl friends "lavishly" and buys beautiful clothes and luggage.

G.E.K.

January 21, 1946 When Margaret returned, she had been to the Housing Bureau and they had given her an address for a room vacancy which she was going to investigate that evening (hoping to move that same night).

Mr. Sweeney had told her that she might be able to cover the work in her psychology class and she would be allowed to finish the course although she hadn't attended so far.

Margaret had not gone to the Student Union to investigate her job possibility because she couldn't work immediately as long as she wasn't settled definitely in a room.

Margaret comes from a small Minnesota town where her mother and father (retired) live with her grandmother. Her maternal grandfather was a doctor and she has an uncle who is a doctor there. Her mother was a 5-year graduate nurse before she married—at present she is working in her uncle's office as an office nurse.

Her friendship with a man by the name of Tom seems to be causing her considerable concern because he is now suggesting that they get

married so they can go together when he goes into some kind of international work for the government (now he is working for a chain store with an office in a small Minnesota town). Margaret feels that she is much inferior to him socially and educationally. I felt that Margaret would like to be considered engaged to him, for it would take some of the responsibility from her own shoulders for solving the predicament she is in now.

G.E.K.

January 24, 1946. Margaret wasn't able to accept the room at the home suggested by the Housing Bureau because the lady wanted someone to stay with her two children during the day. She is to return to the Housing Bureau today for another address.

Margaret attended her psychology class today.

She reports that she has less than ten dollars now to meet her present expenses

Margaret told of her weekend in the home where Tom is rooming. The landlady's young daughter and her husband were home for the weekend, too. She mentioned washing dishes and cleaning the floors while there. She claims that she doesn't see why Tom likes her. Margaret wants the security that marrying Tom would give her; yet she seems dubious about their differences in cultural background.

G.E.K.

January 26, 1946. Margaret received a second room vacancy from the Housing Bureau and looked at the room. However, the lady who has charge of the house will not return until Friday so she will wait until then to verify the agreement. Margaret was told by someone at the house that she could feel almost certain that she could rent the room. She likes the location and the single room seemed attractive to her. She doesn't want to make definite arrangements about her work at the Union until she is settled. Tom has sent her a check for ten dollars, however, which she may use if necessary.

She claims she is attending her psychology class and doing some reading in the library.

G.E.K.

January 28, 1946 Margaret announced as soon as she entered the office that she was going to quit school. She worked one day at the Union and didn't like it, and she is becoming involved in so many things that she thinks it best she quit. She feels "tight" inside and doesn't know which way to turn because of her many problems.

She had heard her name was on the list that Mr. Smith had for those

who may be involved in some thefts at West Hall. She reported to Mr. Smith yesterday afternoon and offered to take the lie detector test but he told her it wouldn't be necessary.

Margaret discussed at some length her religious background. Her maternal grandparents and her mother are members of the Congregational Church. Margaret attended the Catholic Church for a while as a youngster—her friends were Catholic—and she feels that she likes that church the best, although she states that she doesn't believe in a God or a hereafter.

She had planned to drive home with a girl friend this weekend but the car is full so she is going to see Tom (he has sent her some bus tickets). She will return Sunday evening and will leave for home Monday afternoon.

I told her to:

1. Call the house where she had made tentative arrangements to live
2. See Mr. Sweeney and cancel her class with him.
3. See Mrs. Lang at West Hall.
4. Come back to my office before she left on Monday.

As her counselor I feel that Margaret is doing the right thing by quitting school. She had asked me at one of her early interviews if I didn't think she should quit school, but I didn't want to make the decision for her, so we discussed all the possible factors in her situation and at that time she decided to stay. In her earlier interviews she seemed to care little about what happened to her and for that reason I was practically telling her where to go each day until I could get her established once more in her own self-responsibility. Her test scores are:

ACE -2
Eng -3
HSR -50

Apparently Margaret has allowed herself to drift from day to day for some time—now she must face reality because of her housing situation and her behavior status. No doubt her relationship to Tom is causing her considerable concern also. I found Margaret to be an easy "talker"—whether all she stated is true, I don't know. Because her motivation for receiving an education was so low and her many other problems made her situation difficult, I feel that Margaret is better off at home for a time where she can be assured of board and room while she solves some of her other problems.

A "hold" was placed on her record February 6, 1946.

Case closed

GEK

February 4, 1946. Margaret did not return to this office on Monday, however I understand from her friend, Louise Jackson, that she left for home at five o'clock that afternoon

GEK

February 18, 1946. In a telephone call with Mrs Lang she stated that Margaret had written to her from home to thank Mrs Lang for allowing her to stay at West Hall the last two weeks while she was looking for a room; she also enclosed a check for the room charge.

G.E.K

March 10, 1946. Margaret came in to call because she was visiting in the cities She reported that she plans to go to St Louis where she has a married brother and sister--both of whom are older than she There she hopes to be able to get employment with the airlines as a stewardess She inquired about her record and wondered if a transcript would carry a statement about her recent difficulties here in school I told her we had placed a "hold" on her record because we wanted to know about her educational plans if she ever decided to register here again but that an official transcript would contain no evidence of her contacts with this office.

She mentioned that since she left school to go home she has been doing considerable reading and has rested a great deal. She is not seeing Tom as often as she did during the winter quarter, I inferred that it may even be an affair of the past.

I asked Margaret to check with the Office of Admissions and Records in regard to leaving school during the latter part of winter quarter, she had told only Professor Sweeney that she was canceling out of school.

Margaret seemed cheerful, bright, and alert. The beach club manager whom she saw yesterday wanted her to come back there to work and the invitation pleased her.

GEK.

July 8, 1946 Margaret came in to say that she wanted to register for fall quarter but that we had a hold on her record. She seemed a little surprised when I questioned the advisability of her returning. Her plan seems to be to finish two years of college work in order to qualify as an air stewardess. If she returned, she would be carrying only a part time study schedule in order that she could work also.

Since she left here in February, Margaret has been living at home and working in a store as a clerk. She has severed her friendship with

Tom. Margaret looked more attractive and well groomed than she usually appeared when I saw her winter quarter.

I told Margaret I would like to have her take some aptitude tests and interest tests at the Counseling Bureau in order that we might know more about her chief abilities. She had intended to do this, she claimed, during fall quarter anyway. She will write to me as soon as she knows when she can come to Minneapolis again and I will make the necessary appointments at the Counseling Bureau for her.

G.E.K.

April 27, 1947. Margaret came in to inquire about a bill that she had paid to the University and now she has been receiving notices that it wasn't paid. I called Mr. Seitz' office but learned that it is almost impossible to check paid receipts because they are filed by number.

I referred Margaret to Mr. Seitz's office for further information on tracing her bill.

G.E.K.

May 18, 1947. One day this week I saw Margaret on the campus and she told me that Mr. Seitz had allowed her to look back through old paid receipts in his office and she found hers for the bill in question. The matter is settled now.

G.E.K.

May 24, 1947. Margaret came in to inquire about getting a transcript of her credits. With our "hold" on her record the Admissions Office will not allow a copy of her record to be made. Margaret wants it to determine how many credits she has here at the University in case she wants to come back to General College to take the Air-Stewardess course.

I told Margaret I would get a copy of her record for her.

G.E.K.

May 28, 1947. Margaret came to get the unofficial transcript of her credits. At present she is applying with several different companies for a position as an air stewardess, if she doesn't get such a position, she may decide to request readmission to the University this fall for General College work.

Margaret asked me to figure her honor point ratio for her. I also explained the significance of the "hold" on her record. I detected no antagonism or resentment toward the University in Margaret's attitude. She was cheerful, polite, and grateful for information given her.

G.E.K.

CASE 12

All's Well That Ends Well

D.S. Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Helen Madison

College Nursing Class Senior (3rd year) Sex F

A. New Case

1. Complaint or charge: Sex misconduct

2. Date made: June 17, 1946

3. Against whom: Helen Madison

4. Made or reported by Miss Rudd

5. Action: Counseling 9/46—Counseling, ref MMPI

6. Date closed December 1947

7. Date reported to committee: _____

B. New charges or case reopened: _____

Contact Desk Inquiry 6/17/46

HSR 89

ACE 25

D.S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Helen Madison

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER. Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

May 17, 1946

MEMORANDUM

To Dean Williamson
From: Gladys Koepke

Miss Rudd reported the case of Miss Madison, a student in her last year of training. Miss Madison is in Blake Hospital as a patient as a result of a spontaneous abortion in the fourth month of pregnancy. She isn't married but has been considering it for some time. The girl has never caused any difficulty in the school and apparently has been a satisfactory student. Her fiancé is a student in some college in Ohio and intends to come up here about July 1 to discuss their plans for marriage. Miss Madison would like to continue her training since she has so little time left. The girls in Blake Hospital know about the situation but are very sympathetic. This case will come up for discussion at the Students' Work Committee meeting tomorrow afternoon. Miss Rudd would like to know how we feel about allowing Miss Madison to continue her training. At present she is convalescing—either at home or in the hospital.

Personally I think that this girl might be allowed to continue after she has been interviewed by either Miss Rudd or me to determine her attitudes and thinking on this situation. The abortion was caused by worry and too strenuous work (according to Miss Rudd).

G.E.K.

June 21, 1946. Miss Rudd sent Helen over here to discuss her return to school in view of her recent illness. (See memorandum to Dean Williamson.)

Helen's parents, Mr and Mrs Madison, live in Smithville; her father is a plumber. She has one married sister who is four years older than she. The family are members of the Methodist church.

Helen met her fiance, Paul Strong, last November 5, 1945. He is a student with three years left before he graduates. He is a former lieutenant in the Navy Air Corps. Before he entered the University here he had had one year at Southwest College and one at Union College. He comes from a family in Montana. At the time he left for the summer session at the University of Ohio where he is taking a special course, he knew that Helen was pregnant and suggested that they marry. She hesitated because she was afraid it would interfere with his training. She claims that as time went on and she realized her predicament she didn't know what she was going to do. She states that the doctor who cared for her at Blake Hospital didn't tell her or give any explanation as to the reason for the abortion, but she claims that she herself did nothing to create it unless her regular duties affected her physical condition. I asked her if she had thought of having an abortion performed but she said she was afraid of what the effects might be on her own health. She claims that she had not anticipated having intercourse the evening it happened (first time) and that no contraceptives had been used.

Her parents or sister knew nothing about her condition until she was in the hospital. Her doctor explained the situation to her parents before they saw her and she thinks they took the news very well. Her married sister, who is pregnant herself, wasn't told of the incident until Helen was told by the School that she could continue her training (This decision was reached at the meeting of the Students' Work Committee at which I was present.)

When Mr. Strong returns from Ohio the latter part of this month, they expect to make definite plans regarding their future. Helen would like to postpone their marriage until next May when she will have completed her training. We discussed the various factors that have entered the picture which might make such a postponement difficult for both of them. She said she would come back to see me after she and Mr Strong have made definite decisions. I also mentioned that both of them might want to consult our marriage counselor or see Mr. Foley.

Helen seemed to be particularly concerned about Mr. Strong's status in school, she hoped he wouldn't be dismissed from the school. I told her that Mr. Foley undoubtedly would want to talk to him, but I didn't think he would be dropped from school. His parents do not know of her recent experience.

Helen was willing to discuss her situation and realized the many aspects of the problem. She said that she felt rather strange when she returned to the hall this morning—first time since she entered the hospital—but the girls were friendly.

G E K.

September 21, 1946. Miss Madison said that everything seemed to be going well for her. She and Mr. Strong may be married after she finished her training if they can find living quarters that are adequate; she would work as a nurse until he finished his work in school.

This summer she spent part of her vacation with him at his parents' home. His parents do not know about her situation this summer.

She is to take the Multiphasic Questionnaire and call in for an appointment after she knows her hours for next week.

G E K.

September 28, 1946. I interpreted Helen's MMPI to her in general terms (no marked deviations). She mentioned a meeting the students had with Miss Rudd, their new personnel director, at which time they all had an opportunity to air their gripes.

She *claims* that she and Mr. Strong have discussed their plans for the future and have definitely decided against further premarital relations. She talked freely and without any apparent embarrassment.

G E K.

MINNEAPOLIS MORNING GAZETTE

Tuesday, May 29, 1947

Helen Madison Wed

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Madison, 6262 Ninety-ninth avenue E., announce the marriage of their daughter, Helen, to Paul M. Strong, son of Mr. and Mrs. O. M. Strong, Graceville, Mont., on May 18 in Lakeside, Minn.

Counseling as the "Teaching" of Customs and Mores

D.S Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Evelyn Cooper

College Science, Literature, and the Arts Class Sophomore Sex F

A. New Case

1. Complaint or charge Misconduct

2. Date made 10/6/45

3. Against whom Evelyn Cooper

4. Made or reported by Mrs Kelley

5. Action Counseling

6. Date closed _____

7. Date reported to committee _____

B. New charges or case reopened _____

Contact Desk Inquiry 10/6/45

D.S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Evelyn Cooper

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

October 5, 1945

Memorandum to Mr. Foley

Two weeks ago today I spoke to Mr. Draper of the Housing Bureau about the conduct of one of the guls living in my house and he said he would ask you to call me. Today when I reminded him of the conversation it was very evident he had overlooked telling you about it.

Evelyn Cooper wrote me early in the year for a double room for herself and a sister. When Evelyn arrived this fall she told me her sister had not been accepted by the University. I then filled the room. Had I known about this earlier I would have made other arrangements as it is not my policy to put two strangers in the same room.

My complaint is this. Evelyn is going with a young man by the name of Frank White and they spend much time in each other's arms in the front hall or on the front porch. Last Sunday evening one of the girls came in the back door as she was ashamed to come in the front door because of what was going on. I went out and spoke to Evelyn and Frank and told them I objected and resented their actions but they did not break the "clinch" even while I spoke to them.

Some of the guls in the house really do not care to be suspected of being "the gul in this case." I have had phone calls from men and women calling my attention to this "disgraceful conduct," also reminding me that there are certain regulations made by the University which are not being observed. When I told Evelyn and Frank about this Evelyn said, "Well, you have funny neighbors."

Sunday afternoon and again this noon they were wrapped around each other in the front hall. This is very disgusting as well as nauseating to me and the balance of my household.

Evelyn goes out many nights after 10 20, signs out for a "coke date," returns after 12, and disturbs her roommate as well as others in the house

She told me very recently she plans to be married at Christmas time but I cannot and will not put up with this sort of thing until that time

I respectfully request she be moved as soon as possible I do have in mind a girl who is very unhappy where she is and would like to have Evelyn's room the next quarter and it would seem to me that, providing it meets the approval of your department and the other householder, that this change could be made at this time I will say further, if I have to keep a girl of this type and disposition against my wishes, there will be twelve girls looking for new homes for the next quarter. Enough is enough and I have had too much.

I sincerely trust you will take this matter up with Miss Cooper and possibly you can help her to find a place where this sort of thing is permitted I have been told there are householders who have no interest in the affairs of the student It so happens this is our home and I am intensely interested in the reputation and moral atmosphere surrounding our home and the home of twelve girls living with us.

I wish to thank you in advance for your prompt attention to this matter

Sincerely,
Mrs Kelley

October 22, 1945. (Interview with Mrs Kelley) As stated in Mrs. Kelley's letter to Mr Foley, her chief complaint against Evelyn was extreme indiscretion on the part of Evelyn and her fiance, Frank White, in their display of affection She mentioned their being "wrapped around" each other on several occasions when she or others have passed them in the small hallway.

She feels they (she and Evelyn) got off to a wrong start, as far as congenial relationships are concerned, from the very beginning Frank White called one day last summer to look at the room because Evelyn was out of town and had asked him to investigate a room for her. Mrs Kelley was getting ready to leave for an appointment, but showed Frank the room on the second floor. He asked if he could see the third floor rooms and she refused. (The girls eat their breakfast in the improvised kitchen on third floor.) She claims Frank had muddy feet that day and tracked mud through her house. Then this fall when Frank brought Evelyn to the house, he remarked that he was the one who had met her before when he looked at the room. According to

Mrs. Kelley, she said, "Oh yes, you're the young man who tracked mud through my house." She supposedly was joking about it, but Frank didn't appreciate the comment.

Mrs. Kelley's neighbors one evening this fall called her to tell her they had been watching a young man who had been looking in the front windows from her porch several times that evening. Mrs. Kelley was playing bridge with friends in her living room at the time. Shortly after that, Frank called for Evelyn, so Mrs. Kelley thinks that Frank must have been the one who was trying to see if Mrs. Kelley was around before he called for Evelyn. She thinks Frank is a peculiar boy.

Mrs. Kelley showed me the entrance hall which was newly decorated this fall and which has marks on the lower wall where Evelyn and Frank have stood when he brings her home—apparently marks from rubber heels when anyone places his foot against the wall.

She said that Evelyn had replied to her rather curtly one evening when Mrs. Kelley told her she would have to move if she and Frank couldn't refrain from their public display of affection, by saying that she had a contract. Mrs. Kelley claims that the other girls in the house are embarrassed and are afraid the neighbors may think they are the ones involved in these affectionate scenes. The girls often come in the back door to avoid seeing Evelyn and Frank.

Mrs. Kelley thinks Evelyn is very neat about herself and also her room, but she doesn't like her behavior when she is with Frank.

Mrs. Kelley, in response to my question, said the girls could use her living room for entertainment of friends if they wished.

G.E.K.

October 25, 1945. (Interview with Evelyn Cooper) I asked Evelyn how she was getting along at Mrs. Kelley's place and she immediately replied that she knew what the trouble was and how it started. She asked if I would tell her what Mrs. Kelley had said about her—a question to which I replied by stating that Mrs. Kelley wanted her to move because of what seemed to her (Mrs. Kelley) undesirable conduct and I wanted to know what the situation was as far as Evelyn was concerned.

Evelyn claims that the difficulty seemed to start about six weeks ago when the cleaning woman at Mrs. Kelley's broke Evelyn's electric clock. Mrs. Kelley apparently wanted to protect the cleaning woman and thought that Evelyn should assume the expense of repairing it. Evelyn said that the Housing Bureau stated, when consulted on the matter, that Mrs. Kelley would be responsible. That situation has not been settled as yet.

According to Evelyn, there is a great deal of unrest among the girls at Mrs. Kelley's place. They all liked her at the beginning of the fall, but gradually because of "little things" they have become somewhat wary. She mentioned an incident that happened to another girl living there when Mrs. Kelley objected to the girl's leaving her overshoes in a corner of the girl's bedroom, and wanted her to move. Later Mrs. Kelley has tried to make overt gestures of friendliness to the girl by inviting her downstairs for coffee in the evening, but she (Evelyn) refused to accept such invitations believing that Mrs. Kelley's attempts at friendliness are not sincere.

Evelyn is engaged to Frank White and they are planning the wedding for December 28. Because of this, they have had many things to arrange and discuss between them, therefore they perhaps have chatted longer than they planned when he has brought her home. They never have used her living room for visiting for they have felt as if she (Mrs. Kelley) didn't want them to use it. The other girl at the house who is engaged, goes with a young man who has a car, they often sit in the car before coming into the house and so far Mrs. Kelley hasn't objected to them. Evelyn and Frank do not have a car so are forced to kiss each other goodnight in the hall or on the porch.

Evelyn would like to remain in her present room until the end of the quarter.

When I suggested that perhaps the best way to resolve this situation would be for Evelyn to talk to Mrs. Kelley and discuss the problem of her privacy with her, Evelyn resented "giving in" to Mrs. Kelley or making her feel that she had "gotten her way." At that point I attempted to explain that it wasn't a matter of winning over one or the other, but one of coming to a common agreement by which Evelyn could continue to live at Mrs. Kelley's home. Evelyn wants me to talk to one of the other girls who lives in the same house, so the two of them are coming in tomorrow.

G.E.K.

October 25, 1945 (Interview with Frank White) Frank feels that the present situation that has developed between Evelyn and Mrs. Kelley and of which he is a part, too, is one of a personality conflict between Evelyn and Mrs. Kelley—a conflict which started when Evelyn's electric clock was broken by the cleaning woman. The incident placed Mrs. Kelley on the defensive where she has been since then as far as their relationship is concerned.

Frank said that Evelyn is highly nervous and sensitive now with all their wedding plans and her finals to prepare, so has been irritated by

little things that Mrs. Kelley has done to indicate her dislike for Evelyn. They try to stay out of her way and sight, that is why he chooses to say goodnight to Evelyn on the small porch. He didn't feel that they prolonged this ceremony unduly. When asked if he knew what might be done to alleviate the situation, he suggested that he perhaps could meet Evelyn on the corner and then not accompany her the entire way home—a solution that seems very unnecessary and even unwise. Frank would like to have Evelyn remain in her present room now because of the inconvenience of moving. He added that Evelyn and he both have a good family background and that Evelyn resents having Mrs. Kelley imply that she is lacking in good character.

Frank is a nice looking, blond young fellow, neatly dressed and quite well poised. He seemed objective in considering this situation. I could detect little of the "chip-on-the-shoulder" attitude.

Frank calls for Evelyn practically every evening. Frequently they go over to the Bridge Cafe for a coke and an opportunity to talk.

I advised Frank to beware of his criticism of Mrs. Kelley's from now on when he calls for Evelyn and to try to make it as easy for Evelyn in her relationships with Mrs. Kelley as possible.

G.E.K.

October 26, 1945. Interview with Evelyn Cooper and Mildred Smith. The picture that Evelyn's friend, Mildred, who is also a roomer at Mrs. Kelley's house, gives is one of a landlady who makes a very pleasing and satisfactory first appearance but who, because of little annoying curious inclinations, makes it difficult to live in her house without becoming cautious. At the close of last spring quarter four of her girls were asked to leave and at the end of the first summer session she asked two more to leave. This fall she wanted Mildred to leave because she always found it difficult to clean her room and objected to the fact that bedroom slippers and rubbers were on the floor.

Mrs. Kelley is having a number of personal problems of her own to solve now and, according to the girls, fluctuates in her moods from one of anger with them to one of overindulgence. She never likes to talk to a girl directly concerning something she doesn't like, rather she tries to get the information to the girl through a third person. When one of the girls forgot to sign out once, Mrs. Kelley wanted Mildred to remind her of the signing out procedure.

According to Mildred, as soon as one of the girls begins to go with one young man steadily, Mrs. Kelley becomes irritated and annoyed and from then on finds opportunities to criticize the girl. On the one occasion when Evelyn and Frank remained in the hall for some time

talking, she made frequent trips to the telephone, which is in the hall, on the pretense of finding telephone numbers. Finally she just stood at the door looking outside.

Mrs. Kelley goes to a nearby town about once a week to visit her husband who is a patient in one of the hospitals there. He is supposed to be ready to come home soon and Mrs. Kelley will undoubtedly have to give up her roomers and perhaps move to a quieter place.

Mildred has another room for winter quarter and Evelyn's roommate may quit school and give up her room. In order to accommodate the girl who is engaged to the son of one of the faculty members (a girl who is a friend of Mrs. Kelley), Mrs. Kelley had to place one of the other girls to whom she had promised a room out on the sun porch.

Evelyn explained that Mrs. Kelley's letters are well written and make a fine impression for her.

Evelyn commented to the extent that she had recently started to smoke—something she knows bothers Mrs. Kelley but she will definitely stop now in order to give Mrs. Kelley fewer opportunities to criticize her. Evelyn said Frank didn't want her to smoke anyway.

Evelyn said she was glad I had talked to Frank because it made the situation easier for her. She appeared more relaxed and at ease during this interview and her suggestion in regard to her smoking seems to indicate that she is willing to try to get along with Mrs. Kelley.

G E K

November 5, 1945. Interview with Mrs. Kelley. Mrs. Kelley stated that Evelyn and Frank had shown indications of trying to improve their behavior. She didn't stay out so late in the evenings and they did not make a public display of their emotions. However, Mrs. Kelley feels that they should have spoken to her and admitted that they were sorry for their former behavior. Apparently they try to go their own ways now with as little speaking as possible.

When asked if Evelyn might continue to live there for the remainder of the quarter if her behavior changes, Mrs. Kelley reluctantly said she could. I told Mrs. Kelley to call me if Frank and Evelyn were not discreet in their behavior and I said I would talk to Evelyn again.

There were many indications evident in this interview of a landlady who is slightly confused. When I first arrived, Mrs. Kelley began to tell me about her son, Jimmy, who owns the dog that greeted me at the door. In the middle of a sentence and thought, she quickly changed the trend of the conversation and asked me what I had learned by talking to Evelyn. I believe much of the concern of the neighbors

regarding Evelyn's conduct is purely imaginary in Mrs. Kelley's mind. As I held the door open to step onto the porch, she commented on the fine weather and went back into her dining room to get a branch of a vine that she had found budding outdoors to show me.

She would like to drop the entire situation in order to avoid giving us any more work.

G.E.K.

November 6, 1945. Interview with Evelyn Cooper. Evelyn said that she and Frank had tried to be careful in their behavior and have intentionally avoided Mrs. Kelley. She still feels, however, that Mrs. Kelley finds little things or creates them to bring Evelyn into an unfavorable light. Recently she told one of the other girls that Evelyn had mentioned to the cleaning woman something to the effect that she wasn't sure she wanted to marry Frank. Evelyn denies having indicated such thoughts. (Mrs. Kelley had mentioned this bit of information to me also on the previous day.)

I suggested to Evelyn that she talk to Mrs. Kelley herself to ask if she would be permitted to remain in the house for the balance of the quarter. Evelyn agreed, although she said she would find it difficult. She still feels that she is admitting her error and completely submitting to Mrs. Kelley in this situation. If further difficulty arises, Evelyn is to report the matter to me so we can discuss it together.

G.E.K.

A Type of Misbehavior Infrequently Found in College Students

D.S. Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Peter Kennedy
College Engineering Class Freshman Sex M

A. New Case

1. Complaint or charge: Theft

2. Date made: 2/31/46

3. Against whom: Peter Kennedy—not now in residence

4. Made or reported by City newspapers (anonymous)

5. Action: Hold on record; may not reenter without review and special permission

6. Date closed 3/5/46

7. Date reported to committee

B. New charges or case reopened:
5/46 Request for admission, readmitted on probation and referred to take Multiphasic.

Contact Desk Inquiry 3/1/46

D.S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

Summary Notes of Interviews

Peter Kennedy

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER. Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

March 16, 1946 Kennedy was arrested February 29 and charged with stealing a car and participating in nine holdups. Today was the first opportunity I had to see him. Mr. Jensen, University Bureau of Veterans' Affairs, had asked that certain books and supplies issued to Kennedy be recovered from the police who had taken all of his personal belongings. Since Kennedy had not completed the current quarter, the books and supplies which were issued to him this quarter must be returned, according to the U.S. Veterans Administration regulations.

I found that I might secure any property belonging to the U.S. Veterans Administration from the property division of the police department. I was allowed to visit Kennedy although Wednesday was not a visiting day in the county jail.

Kennedy consented to release any property belonging to the U.S. Veterans Administration. I had very little time with him but when I asked him what the situation was he sort of shrugged his shoulders and said he couldn't very well say why he had got into such a jam. He said his lawyer was trying to get him put on probation but he himself was not too confident that such might happen. He faces a first-degree robbery charge which carries a sentence of from 5 to 40 years.

Kennedy asked if he could, at some later date, return to the University and I told him that he should make application at whatever time he was ready. I told him, however, that I could make no commitments

at present, adding that no dismissal action had been taken. He said that if he were placed on court probation he would like to go to the University of Washington for a year and then transfer back so that he could graduate from Minnesota. He did not seem particularly despondent but was rather serious about the whole matter. I was unable to determine how deeply this matter had affected him emotionally. He is rather a nice looking young man. The deputy who sat in on the interview later made the remark that Kennedy was a clean-cut looking chap.

I secured one book, several notebooks, a pencil, draft paper, tracing paper, and other miscellaneous supplies from the property department and signed for them. I sent them over to Jensen who had included a slide rule on the list of materials to be returned. Kennedy stated that the slide rule had been secured several quarters previously, that he had completed the course, and that he thought he was entitled to keep it. Jensen said that he should return the slide rule because U.S. Veterans Administration regulations required that the four-year course be completed if the student is to retain the slide rule. This is apparently due to the shortage of good slide rules at this time.

Jensen told me that Mr. Coleman, one of the counselors in the University Bureau of Veterans' Affairs, had interviewed Kennedy's mother. Jensen said that Mrs. Phillips (she has remarried) stated that Kennedy's father had been convicted three times of felonies.

I talked to Coleman who said he would send me a copy of the interview notes.

J D F

March 17, 1946. Jensen called and said that he had learned that the slide rule need not be returned and everything which Kennedy had secured this quarter had now been returned. He is sending me a receipt for the articles. This receipt normally would go to Kennedy but I told Jensen I would keep it in the folder for Kennedy, should he want it later.

Kennedy comes up for trial at 10 next Monday, March 21. If possible, I will attend this trial to see what charges have been made and what has been proved. In his holdups, Kennedy used a .45-caliber automatic which is listed, according to police, as government property. The police say this must have been stolen because the government does not give these guns as souvenirs to veterans.

A copy of Coleman's interview notes was received and placed in the file.

J.D.F.

Memo to: G. I. Files
Re. Peter Kennedy

The student's mother, at the suggestion of her attorney, called at the Bureau of Veterans' Affairs today in order to determine whether her son's withdrawal from the University had been satisfactorily taken care of. Mrs. Phillips was informed that Mr. Jensen of the Bureau of Veterans' Affairs had taken care of the student's cancellation, and that he had informed Mr. Foley, Assistant to the Dean, of the cancellation.

Mrs. Phillips inquired as to her son's eligibility for continued training under the GI Bill and she was informed that so far as this office knew at present, that all GI benefits for her son would remain intact. However, it was pointed out that there could possibly be some question of readmission to the University of Minnesota. It was suggested that should she wish to discuss this possibility further, she might consult Mr. Foley, Assistant to the Dean.

Mrs. Phillips stated that she had learned about her son's situation only last Sunday night when she read it in the newspaper. She stated that it had been extremely hard to believe and she had had considerable difficulty in sleeping since that time.

Mrs. Phillips explained that the boy had never had a satisfactory home life. She and the father had not lived together for some years and the son had been denied the positive values of well-adjusted life at home. She further pointed out that the boy's father had a record of criminal convictions and that he had never taken any interest in, or responsibility for, the boy. She stated that she has been obliged to work up until the time of her second marriage. Mrs. Phillips has been married to her second husband for only a short period of time. She was convinced that the father was, in a large measure, responsible for the boy and she stated that even now the father insisted on seeing the boy against the advice of her attorney.

She stated that her attorney informed her of a bill which was currently pending which would grant leniency to first offenders. She definitely hoped that this bill would be passed soon.

Mrs. Phillips was assured that the necessary details for cancellation had been handled and that the student's eligibility rights under Public Law 346 would be preserved until such time as he wished to take advantage of them.

Coleman/tm

May 18, 1946 The court probation officer came to see me about Kennedy who was given five years probation sentence on what the officer called a "two and two indeterminate sentence." He didn't explain the meaning of this but it was clear what the five years probation means. The boy is not supposed to go out of the county without permission, but he is temporarily living in the home of an uncle. He may not go into taverns, he must report to the probation officer every

two weeks—these are the general terms of the probation. The officer, I gathered, had taken a personal interest in Kennedy and he gave me the social history which he had collected. He told me I could make a copy of it. He seems to have done rather a thorough job in getting information which Kennedy himself did not know about his family history.

Danforth, the probation officer, said that there had been some previous burglaries in February but that Kennedy would not be prosecuted on those charges. Arrangements are being made for Kennedy to pay back the money which he stole.

Danforth asked whether Kennedy could return to school. I told him I did not know because the matter was a very serious one and had been publicized in the papers. The Disciplinary Committee should be consulted. He said that if Kennedy could go to school he would like to have him do so but he was not going to exert any pressure. However, the court judge expressed an interest in seeing Kennedy continue his education in engineering. Danforth has talked to a number of Kennedy's friends here at school and found that they expressed interest in his returning.

I told Danforth we would want a thorough psychiatric study of Kennedy before he could be returned to school and he stated that, on my earlier recommendation, the judge had sent Kennedy to the hospital where Dr. Grandy supervised a case study. Kennedy was diagnosed as a psychopathic personality.

I told Danforth I would study the matter further and consult with the Committee about this case. I told him they might want to see Kennedy and Danforth said he would make the boy available. He is working during the summer but Danforth can get him here if the Committee wants to see him. I told Danforth I would get in touch with him later on in the summer.

J.D.F.

July 11, 1946. I talked briefly to Kennedy twice yesterday and today I had a more thorough interview with him. He is twenty-one years old and served three years in the Navy. Some of the data he gave me are contained in the copy of the probation department's social history but may be briefly summarized here. His father has served time in prison for burglary and for manslaughter. His paternal grandfather served time for manslaughter and also was believed to have another conviction for burglary or robbery. Kennedy himself has thus completed the first step in the family pattern. His mother divorced the father. She remarried and she and the stepfather are willing to do

anything they can to help out the boy. Kennedy said he wanted to play football and basketball at the University. He has a steady girl friend who attends the University and who is sticking by him through this episode. His chief recreational outlets are swimming, shows, and dates with his girl. He worked on a job during the fall quarter but not during winter quarter and had no serious financial trouble. He says he cannot explain why this thing happened. There is undoubtedly more to it than he is revealing now but perhaps he doesn't understand the probable relationships of some of the previous events. He revealed no particular upsets before either of these sets of robberies. Although he used a gun in the robbery and had a bullet clip in the automatic there was no shell pumped into the chamber so he could not have shot anybody without pulling the trigger twice and pumping a shell into the chamber in between the two trigger pullings. Most of the money he got in his series of robberies for which he was apprehended has been returned to the owner.

I told Kennedy I would want to get a further report from Dr. Grandy about prognosis and follow up treatment before making any commitments. I sent him to the Counseling Bureau to take the multiphasic test.

J.D.F.

July 18, 1946 Kennedy's multiphasic profile shows a peak on the Pd scale of 74; Hy 69, Ma 65, and Sc 63. His other scores are below 60. I have been unable to get a report from Grandy yet but I talked with three members of the Disciplinary Committee. Dean Williamson was out of town and has not been consulted yet. The three members were all of the opinion that the best thing to do would be to give Kennedy a chance, if it seems that he has a reasonable likelihood of success. His measured ability is fairly high, his ACE being the 72d percentile. The three men agreed that the University should utilize its facilities if Kennedy is a fair risk and if he will not be made the object of scorn by other students. They are primarily concerned with the possible manner in which he will be received on campus. I had previously talked this over with Kennedy and although he was not concerned particularly, because his friends and girl friend had encouraged him to return, I advised him that other students might not feel the same way.

I talked to Mr. Danforth and suggested that Kennedy be placed where he would not be living with other students. He said he thought he could place him in the home of an uncle but the distance was a serious problem. I have been unable to get a report yet from the hos-

pital but after consultation with members of the Disciplinary Committee and Mr. Danforth, I have proposed that Kennedy be readmitted on disciplinary probation, subject to whatever therapeutic program Dr. Grandy would recommend. Danforth said he would get a copy of the psychiatric report made to the court and send it to me. The judge has also expressed interest in having Kennedy come back to school this fall.

I talked to Kennedy today and again went over the seriousness of the matter and the rehabilitation steps that were necessary. I reviewed some of his family history and he had not previously learned that his grandfather had been convicted of manslaughter. But he seemed to become extremely serious and sober when he learned this. I told him we would watch for signs that he was getting bored with the treatment as such signs would not be favorable. I told him that if he felt dejected about the process he should remember that he might be getting at some repressed experience which was significant in explaining his behavior. Under such conditions he would need to redouble his efforts to cooperate in the rehabilitation program. He seemed a little more serious and determined than in previous interviews but it is too early to say whether this attitude will persist.

J D F.

Note There followed in this case frequent conferences with the disciplinary counselor and with the University psychiatrist. These conferences terminated a year after the initial interview. Kennedy had shown such satisfactory progress that he was released from disciplinary probation although he remained on court probation.

CASE 15

A Student Involved in a Family Man's Life

D S. Form 101-44R

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Office of the Dean of Students

SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINE CASES

Name Eleanor Morgan

College Science, Literature, and the Arts Class Senior Sex F

A. New Case

1. Complaint or charge Sex misconduct

2. Date made: 7/1/46

3. Against whom Eleanor Morgan

4. Made or reported by Mrs Cook, Houston, Texas

5. Action Hold on record

6. Date closed. 7/28/46

7. Date reported to committee _____

B. New charges or case reopened

Request for transcript—correspondence

	<i>Soph. Culture Tests</i>	percentile
	<i>Current Soc Problems</i>	90
	<i>History, Soc. Studies</i>	92
	<i>Foreign Literature</i>	95
	<i>Science</i>	38
	<i>Fine Arts</i>	98
	<i>Math</i>	5
Contact Desk Inquiry <u>7/4/46</u>	<i>Case of SCB</i>	5/9/45 J.G.D.

D.S. Form 174-42

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
Office of the Dean of Students
Summary Notes of Interviews

Eleanor Morgan

Name of Student

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: Use the space below and on the reverse side for your summary of significant information given by the student, for your suggestions and actions, for additional steps to be taken by you or the student and for additional information to be collected by you in later interviews or from other departments of the University. Write the date of *each* interview in the *left hand margin* opposite the first line of your notes for each interview. Also sign your initials after the last sentence of your notes. This procedure will yield a consecutive summary of interview notes. Actions to be taken by members of the secretarial staff who will not read your interview notes should be noted on cards or slips and attached to the outside first page of the folder or form.

June 30, 1946
Houston,

Dean
University of Minnesota

Dear Sir,

I am faced with a problem involving one of your students and you may be able to help me by having a talk with her and reading her the enclosed letter

Her name is Eleanor Morgan and she is from Houston. I don't know her address up there so I am taking this means of reaching her.

I know the Dean is there to discuss problems with the students, and will appreciate it very much if you talk this over with her.

There isn't anything I can say that isn't in the letter to Eleanor.

I hope you understand that I am doing this in a desperate attempt to save my home and the father of my children.

Thank you for anything you are able to do.

Sincerely,
Mrs. L. F. Scott

Houston
June 30, 1946

Eleanor Morgan,

Someone somewhere is telling a lot of lies, and if it is at all possible I intend to find out where they originate.

Monday morning my husband told me he had had intercourse several times with a girl he met on Friday at the beach. This girl knew he was married and the father of two living children with a third expected. But the fascination of being able to attract a married man was too much for her. And so because of an accumulation of many different things he became infatuated with you.

My first impulse was to give him his freedom. If he wanted you and thought you could bring him happiness, that was what I wanted too.

However, after seeing a lawyer—who advised divorce on grounds of adultery naming you as corespondent—I have changed my mind. The reason for this is different things I have heard in the neighborhood which have led me to believe that he wouldn't be happy with you. He has a very high ideal for his women, and somehow you just don't live up to it. Maybe he doesn't see that now, but he will in time to come.

Another reason I am not going to divorce him is because of the children. If they were well and normal it would be different. My daughter who is two and a half has polio, and my nineteen-month-old son is below normal. For example, he doesn't walk, feed himself, talk, wave bye-bye, or any of the things a normal nineteen-month-old baby does. There is no record of anything like either of these cases on my side of the family nor on Lloyd's mother's side. We don't know much about his father's background because his grandfather ran off with another woman and his grandmother died and the children were put in a home.

I have talked to your mother on several occasions and she has been very nice about everything, but still refuses to believe such a thing of her daughter and is putting the blame on my husband and tells me he is telling a lot of lies about you. She says if he doesn't leave you alone, she, rather you, will have him put under a peace bond.

Something else she told me that I don't like at all was that you had said I left my husband four times and had affairs with four men. When I asked my husband about it he said he told you no such thing.

On the two occasions we were separated, it has been because he decided he was tired of married life and wanted to be free, just like now. He was in New York and I in Denver. We both dated some. I seldom went with the same person twice, and he always went with Clara Gordon whom he had gone with since high school.

And I resent very much your slandering my name to further your own cause. My husband has been the only man in my life and I was a virgin when I married. I like to dance and he doesn't at all so I went dancing.

The bills that we owe total close to \$4500, and I am responsible for only \$550 of them.

At various times during our married life my husband has had, as he puts it, "itchy feet." So he has gone off some place alone. It has always been impossible for me to go along as I was pregnant, or else we didn't have the money. My husband is a very patient man. This is my fifth pregnancy.

Incidentally, he has always been the one to come back to me and our children, so I have every hope he will do so this time.

Since I love my husband and he still finds me attractive we are still living together as man and wife, and will do so until such time as he leaves

I know my husband very well and have a great deal of understanding for him. Because of this and the fact that I love him so much I have been able to put up with his stretches of not working, and periods of "get rich quick" schemes. Times when we have been so far behind in rent and other bills we were threatened with eviction, and we have been sued for money owed.

I have put too much into my marriage to have it end as abruptly as this, so I am not ending it.

I wish you would tell me the truth. I don't want to hear it from your mother or my husband, because they tell exactly opposite stories. I want to hear it from you.

Mrs. Lloyd Scott

July 4, 1946. In a call on Mrs. Davidson where Eleanor is now living, I merely learned that Mrs. Davidson had no complaints to make on any of her girls, some of whom are business girls and some students—one girl works in a jewelry store and another in a bank down town. She would like to have all University students, she claimed. The girls are allowed to cook their meals in the basement where she has a refrigerator for their use and individual lockers, they are also allowed laundry privileges in the basement. She mentioned Eleanor Morgan who would graduate at the close of the second summer session, and when I inquired how she was getting along, Mrs. Davidson replied that she thought Eleanor was getting along very well—no complaints. The girls all have individual keys and have one living room they may use. Mrs. Davidson feels that she is very close to the girls—she finds them pleasant and enjoys their company. She mentioned that recently a man had entered the house during the day and gone to the third floor—since then she has kept the house well locked. She had called a policeman but the man had escaped via a streetcar (neighbors had seen him). The police officer said the girls in this district were responsible for such events because they went down to night clubs in North Minneapolis.

G.E.K

July 5, 1946. This morning I called on Mrs. Freeman with whom Eleanor lived last fall quarter. Although she was hesitant about telling facts, she finally told the following incidents after I assured her of the confidential nature of my visit. From the time when Eleanor first moved to her home, there were several telephone calls from men asking

for a girl who lived there—many times they knew only the telephone number, neither her first nor last name. Usually she didn't like the tone or manner of their speaking so "hung up" on them.

Then Eleanor often entertained her boy friends in the living room after she came home at two o'clock—she usually managed to get in at that hour but the boys came in also. She always seemed to have several boy friends who called for her on different nights, she seldom studied at the house. One morning after Eleanor had entertained one of her boy friends in the living room after hours, Mrs. Freeman found a contraceptive that had been used lying near the davenport. That was evidence enough for her that Eleanor was not the kind of girl she wanted in her home, so she allowed Eleanor to remain until the end of the quarter and then told her she should find another place. She never mentioned the above incident to Eleanor. Mrs. Freeman is quite sure it was Eleanor because she was out that evening and the other girls were in early.

G.E.K.

July 5, 1946. In a visit with Mrs. Taylor this afternoon, she stated that Eleanor had lived at her house during 1944–1945. During the fall and winter quarters, Eleanor went out very little and seemed to study as much as the average student at least. Then during spring quarter of that year she met a young man whom she dated frequently. One weekend she and another girl at the house went on a weekend trip with two boys. Mrs. Taylor didn't believe Eleanor was dating several boys but primarily one, Eleanor left Mrs. Taylor's house because she didn't intend to return in the fall although indirectly Mrs. Taylor heard that before Eleanor left in June she had mentioned to one of the girls in the house that she might come back in the fall because of this young man whom she had met.

Mrs. Taylor also commented on the fact that Mrs. Freeman, Eleanor's landlady the following fall, had asked Eleanor to move because there were too many boys in the picture.

G.E.K.

July 6, 1946. (Report from SCB.) The results of the Kuder Preference Test indicated a peak in the artistic area and social service area, there were secondary peaks in the musical and literary areas—all others fell around the 50th percentile or lower.

The Minnesota Personality Inventory portrays an interesting picture with economic conservatism at the 1 per cent level; family adjustment 20 per cent, and social adjustment at the first percentile level.

Eleanor stated that her primary interest as far as a vocation was con-

ceived was in the social service area. "As shown on the Minnesota Personality Inventory, Eleanor is an extremely liberal individual and this liberalism coupled with the social service interest is a great motivating factor for her vocationally." At the time of this interview (March 29, 1945) Eleanor said that her life had changed considerably since the taking of the tests—when she took the tests she was truly in the doldrums. She had been here for several quarters, had no friends or pals, and was completely foot-loose and adrift with no coed social life in the picture. Since then she had made friends and contacts in her rooming house situation. She has gotten into several social service programs. She joined a dancing class in the union. Now she has rather an active extracurricular life and an extracurricular life which is coed in nature. Life for Eleanor looks truly happy.

The conflict she has with her family comes over the topic of Eleanor's liberality and her desire to put her theoretical liberality into practice. In the preliminary interview questionnaire she stated that she has a basic sympathy and desire to work with the colored race. This original interest was stimulated by parental opposition, so she reported

G.E.K.

July 8, 1946. Eleanor said she was attending an Art School during the first summer session and returned to Minneapolis on June 29. When I asked if she knew a Lloyd Scott, she blushed and said, "Yes, I thought you wanted to see me about that situation." She stated that she had known him for about one week. I gave her the letter to read and noticed that occasionally she shook her head—at one place she was about to say something but mentioned that she would wait until she had finished.

Eleanor claims that although she saw Mr. Scott five times just before she came back to school, she at no time had sexual intercourse with him. Her mother believes that Mr. and Mrs. Scott are trying to blackmail her in order to have the Morgans' pay them to keep it out of court. They live in the same district but Eleanor didn't know his address until she saw it on the letter today.

According to Eleanor's story, they met on the afternoon of June 25 when they were at the beach. They talked all afternoon—spoke about music, the standards of concerts, books they had read. When they parted he told her that he would like to make a date with her but he was married. She had told him that she had never met anyone "whom she had enjoyed so much in such a short acquaintance."

The next afternoon (Saturday) they met again at the beach although

they had not planned it. Again the time was spent in just talking. On Sunday he called her and wanted her to meet him downtown, so when she returned from the country with her parents she went down town to meet him at 10 P. M. Her mother thought she was to meet another friend of hers who lived on the other side of the city—they often met downtown to save time and then he took her home. On this evening they went walking. He took her home about 2:30 A. M. She stated that they held hands while walking and she kissed him before he left her—after that he mentioned to her that he had two children (he had never talked of them before). Her mother saw them on the porch but didn't recognize Mr. Scott.

The next morning he called her to say he was very much upset and would like to see her immediately. They met at eleven o'clock and walked for an hour. At that time he told her that his wife knew about her and was threatening a divorce. Eleanor claims that she told him that was his problem. She saw him again in the afternoon for a short time, and then she left for Minneapolis in the evening.

On Tuesday Mrs. Scott telephoned Mrs. Morgan to tell her about the affair between her husband and Eleanor; she claimed Eleanor had given him \$100 sometime during the weekend. Mrs. Morgan called Eleanor that evening and told her to send her bank book home so they could prove that Eleanor had not withdrawn money to the amount of \$100. In the same call she warned Eleanor about writing anything to either Mr. or Mrs. Scott so they could copy her signature to any letters they might create.

On Wednesday evening Mr. Scott called Eleanor to say that he was planning to leave his wife at the end of the week and wanted to know if he could see her if he came to Minneapolis. She said he could. He called her again either the following Tuesday or Wednesday evening to say that since he had called her last week his wife had brought a court action against him for nonsupport; he was in jail one day and night and then Mrs. Scott asked the judge to let him out rather than send him to the workhouse. Mr. Scott said it was a humiliating experience but he bore it for Eleanor's sake.

She has written him one card on which she printed her message telling him to stop causing her so much trouble.

Eleanor mentioned an affair she had during spring quarter. She had been dating one of the instructors on the campus. They had met through one of the campus foundations. One night during spring quarter they registered at a local hotel under an assumed name and

spent the night there during which time they did have sexual intercourse. He told her that he could never marry because he had epilepsy and although he had received treatment from three different doctors he was not getting better. She admired his intelligence and they spent most of their time on dates talking or going to concerts—she doesn't dance very well. They often would go to a restaurant to have a cup of coffee and talk. Since the affair at the hotel they haven't seen each other very often but they are still friends.

Eleanor claims she has never had sexual intercourse with anyone else. One time at Mrs. Freeman's house, her date for the evening had suggested it and had gone so far as to expose himself, but she was strong enough to "push him aside." That incident took place on the front porch when they returned late in the evening.

Mr. Morgan, Eleanor's father, is an accountant who was born in Capetown, South Africa. Eleanor believes that he was raised a Catholic but he now attends the Methodist Church when he goes to church (which is seldom). Mrs. Morgan is of Dutch ancestry but was born in this country, when she married she left the Catholic Church and joined the Methodist Church.

Eleanor's one brother, who is two years younger than she, is a senior at Siwash College. This summer he is working in Texas. He wrote to her recently when he learned about the trouble with the Scotts and told her about some of his experiences with women when he was overseas during the war—he admitted that he had had sexual intercourse with several of them. He thought she was unwise to allow herself to become mixed up in an affair like this.

Mr. Morgan knows nothing about this situation with the Scotts; Eleanor said he would be most ashamed of her if he knew.

Eleanor went to a junior college for two years and then worked for two years as a stenographer. She came here because of a friend of the family. Eleanor pays her own tuition and buys her books; her father sends her \$15 each week and pays her room rent besides.

Mr. Scott told Eleanor he was from San Diego originally. He lost his business overnight. He then became a carpenter for a time and now is a plumber—a position that embarrasses him because he feels he is capable of doing something better. While he was in the Navy he did some kind of electrical work. He married Mrs. Scott five years ago after he had known her only five weeks. She was working in an office.

G.E.K.

Houston,
July 9, 1946

Dean, University of Minnesota:

Thank you very much for speaking to Eleanor Morgan for me.

She wrote and asked me to phone her which I did, and I believe the whole mess is almost straightened out.

I think she will do her part in seeing that it goes no further. And I discovered from my talk with her that she is really a very nice person.

Again let me thank you and I hope this won't harm Eleanor in any way, so far as her school life is concerned.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Lloyd Scott

July 11, 1946. Eleanor said that Mrs. Scott had called her Saturday morning to ask if Eleanor really cared for Mr. Scott. Eleanor told her she didn't—that it was merely a temporary infatuation and that she hoped Mr. Scott would return to her and the children. Mrs. Scott asked her to wire such a message to her husband. According to Eleanor the conversation seemed to relieve the anxiety for both of them.

That evening she received a special air mail letter from Mrs. Scott stating that she hoped Eleanor was sincere in her telephone conversation of that morning and suggesting that Eleanor not answer the "nasty" letter that Mr. Scott intended to write her after receiving the telegram. She said they were planning to leave Houston at the end of this week; however if they were still there when Eleanor returned home, she would like to have Eleanor "come over to see the children and me." She thought that under different circumstances they could have been very good friends. Mrs. Scott further stated her understanding of her husband and her hope that someday he would change and become a stable person—"although everyone tells me that with a mental condition like his, he will never change." She adds, "I know I am to blame for everything happening like it did, but I won't let it happen again." Mrs. Scott closed the letter by wishing Eleanor good fortune in her chosen work, hoping she would some day find the person she was looking for as a marriage partner and that he would be deserving of her. "Write me if you feel the urge, I would like to hear from you, and I mean it sincerely."

Eleanor had sent Mr. Scott the telegram stating that she didn't care for him and that he should return to his wife. A letter from him came on Sunday. He began by saying "Do you mind if I force my attentions upon you again." He accused her of telling different stories to him and to his wife; states that perhaps he had been naive—"As I told you, I

have had rather limited experience with women"; and claims that he does not intend to live with his wife because he doesn't "love her any longer." He closed by stating: "In spite of everything they were three of the few really happy days of my life."

Eleanor had another letter with her from a girl friend. It seems that following their first meeting on the beach (Friday) Lloyd accompanied her as far as this girl friend's home where she was to have dinner (consequently he knew the location of the house). In the letter Arlene states that on the evening of June 30 (Wednesday evening), two days after Eleanor left Houston about 1 A.M. while she and her boy friend were sitting on the porch of her home, Lloyd came across the lawn and asked if a person by the name of Arlene lived there. Arlene answered and after many apologies and admitting he didn't know where to begin, he asked her if Eleanor considered him just a "passing affair." Arlene told him he was, very definitely. He further "wanted to know if there were others and I said you attracted them like flies to fly paper." "He threatened to follow you like a war bride or something. But I was emphatic in declaring this not to be a true mating of souls. He said there was no physical attraction." After some comments regarding his need for a haircut, "he sauntered off into the night."

At this interview Eleanor mentioned that Lloyd had been discharged from the Navy because of a "psychopathic personality and emotional instability."

In reviewing her social life here on the campus and even from her high school days, Eleanor stated that she never "dated" in high school and had little social life in junior college. Her explanation for it was that her extreme weight and bad skin condition made her most unattractive. She and her brother were very close during those years—almost "pathologically so," she claims—and she spent much of her free time reading, drawing, or playing baseball with a neighborhood group. She had little social life here on the campus when she first came until the spring quarter when she met a young student whom she dated exclusively that quarter. Then during the summer she met Carl (mentioned in the girl friend's letter) in the store in which she was also working. (The girl friend's boy friend thought Carl to be a "stuffed shirt.") That fall she had dates with several different University students, and just before Christmas she met the young man on the Minnesota staff. During winter quarter they were together almost every evening; the incident at the hotel took place on January 12. She mentioned that she had gone to see her landlady's doctor because she was afraid she was pregnant (about two months later). The doctor as-

sured her she wasn't and thought that her fear had contributed to her delayed menstruation. Eleanor said the doctor gave her some good advice at that time which she referred to as coming from a "man with wisdom"

Eleanor mentioned that Mrs. Scott was writing another letter to me, so I told her I wanted to see her again after that letter came. The appointment was made for the next day.

G E. K.

July 12, 1946. (Interview with Mr. Hunt regarding Eleanor Morgan) Eleanor has been working as a check room girl all year. Mr. Hunt thought Eleanor might be called an emotional individual. He believes that she is quite dependent on her family. At one time she mentioned that her mother and brother meant the most to her—her brother seemed to be almost an ideal in her eyes—next came her father and their dog.

Eleanor's social behavior is different from that of most girls—at times she is very aggressive in an emotional way and again she appears shy and on the defensive.

This session she chose to work in the women's check room rather than the men's—usually the girls prefer the men's because it is easier work and because of the opportunities for social contacts

G E. K.

July 12, 1946. I spent considerable time with Eleanor at this interview in trying to help her see the folly of further contacts with the Scott family. She claims she would like to meet Mrs. Scott and the children and would like to do something for the children (gifts, clothes, etc) When asked why she wanted to carry out such a plan, she thought it undoubtedly came from guilt feelings she had because she had caused Mrs. Scott so much trouble. Finally she admitted that I was forcing her to consider the feelings of other people—usually she only had to think of herself. At this point she elaborated on the attention she always received at home.

She anticipates meeting new people in her new position and decided it would be unwise to have further contacts with the Scotts.

Again Eleanor stated that she had had no sexual intercourse with any other men except the one experience she told me about. I asked her if she would be willing to sign a statement stating such a fact and she said she would be glad to do so. She added that she could give me a list of names of fellows who had suggested it to her, however. (I took neither written statement from her nor the proffered list of names.)

We discussed briefly her life as a professional worker and I asked her

to think over some of her behavior tendencies in relationship to her future work before our next interview on Friday.

G E.K

July 15, 1946. Eleanor had received a letter from Mrs. Scott containing pictures of herself and the children. The letter was a friendly one and extended an invitation to Eleanor to visit them sometime. This time Eleanor could see the danger implicit in such a situation and said she intended to answer the letter accordingly.

We discussed further Eleanor's tendencies to become involved with so many men whom she admits she doesn't like. She claims that in most cases she either feels sorry for them or she finds it difficult to tell them not to call her by telephone and to refuse dates with them. We discussed ways of handling situations of such a nature adequately.

G E.K.

July 19, 1946. Eleanor gave an account of her two dates with fellows that she had over the weekend. (One of the girls in the office reported that she had seen Eleanor at a ballroom on Saturday evening.) When I told her that I could only help her to the extent that she was honest with me, she replied that she was known to be very frank and truthful and that she has been in her interviews with me.

G E.K

July 22, 1946. I summarized our talks to Eleanor and explained that it was difficult to recommend her for a professional position with her record that as yet gave us no indication of a better adjustment to her situation. I recommended that she see a psychiatrist. After we receive a letter from such a qualified person indicating that Eleanor is making a satisfactory adjustment to her work as well as to her social life, we will be able to recommend her without reservations for further positions.

Eleanor took these suggestions very well. She stated that she could understand why we were in a position where we couldn't recommend her and she seemed to welcome the idea of discussing her problems further with someone who could give her professional help. She gave me her future address.

Eleanor's mother, brother, and friend Arlene are coming for her graduation next week. She said her mother knows now that I have seen Eleanor and that maybe she would like to talk to me. I told her to feel free to make an appointment with me for such a purpose if she wished. At this interview I returned all the letters that Eleanor had turned over to me—those from the Scotts and also the one from her girl friend, Arlene.

G E.K

List of Visual Materials

The following list of visual materials can be used to supplement some of the material in this book.

These films can be obtained from the producer or distributor listed with each title. (The addresses of producers and distributors are given at the end of this bibliography.) In many cases these films can be obtained from your local film library or local film distributor, also, many universities have large film libraries from which they can be borrowed.

The running time (min) and whether it is silent (si) or sound (sd) are listed with each title. All films are black and white 16mm motion pictures.

Aptitudes and Occupations (Coronet 16min sd). Discusses six of the fundamental human abilities—mechanical, clerical, social, musical, artistic, and scholastic, indicates how a student may, with the aid of school counselors, determine how much of each of these abilities he has, also indicates broad fields in which certain combinations of abilities are required.

Boy in Court (National Probation Assn. 12min sd). Shows in detail the workings of the juvenile court when a boy is brought before it. Begins with the stealing of a car by young delinquents and follows them to the release of one of the boys after a year's probation.

Captains Courageous—Fishhook Sequence (TFC 12mm sd). Further study of the spoiled child of the school sequence shows the place of affection in the control of behavior, the contrast of punishment or brutality and firmness, and the example the adult sets by his own behavior. By sympathetic discipline the boy is taught the value of fair play in dealing with others.

Captains Courageous—School Sequence (TFC 12min sd). A school-boy, son of a rich father, tries to rule the faculty and his schoolmates by bribery and threats. When he is punished for flagrant bad behavior, he runs away and complains to his father of cruel treatment. The father learns the truth and sees that his absorption in business is partly responsible for his son's difficulties.

Children in Trouble (NYSDC 10min sd). Opens with a graphic account of the seriousness and cost of juvenile delinquency and crime. Continues with a vivid portrayal of the causes of crime, and concludes with a unique presentation of effective methods of prevention.

Children of the City (BIS 30min sd). A frank discussion of the problems of juvenile delinquency illustrating the practice of the Scottish courts under a recent act of Parliament. By following the story of three boys accused of petty thievery, the film shows how overcrowding and a shortage of recreation facilities breed delinquency, and how educational, social, and civic authorities can unite in treating delinquents.

Children on Trial (BIS 62min sd). A dramatic feature-length documentary which illustrates the firm yet human steps taken by official welfare departments to rehabilitate youngsters in England. The work of England's approved schools is shown as the cases of delinquent boys and girls are studied.

Counseling—Its Tools and Techniques (Mahnke 22min sd). Shows a well-trained counselor at work. Shows the trainee what tools and techniques to use in counseling and how to use them to the best advantage; included are interviewing, tests, questionnaires, the use of films, etc.

A Criminal Is Born (TFC 20min sd). A dramatization of the cases of four boys who, when their parents show insufficient interest in them, turn to crime. One boy is influenced by his father to leave the gang, one is killed during a robbery, and two are captured. The judge sentences them to long prison terms, but he severely reproves the parents for not adequately supervising their children.

The Devil Is a Sissy (TFC 16min sd). Deals with a juvenile court. Boys caught stealing and selling stolen goods. Parents respond to the situation in strikingly different ways. In court the boys refuse to explain until finally one of them admits. The judge tries to handle the situation constructively.

Easy Life (TFC 20min sd). A youth's craving for an "easy life" involves him with gangsters, deprives him of wholesome association and activities, and causes his death in a gun fight.

Feeling of Hostility (NFBC 25min sd) Deals with a twenty-five-year-old girl who is a success in her job but lonely and without friends. She has been hurt so often that she is on guard and builds her life around intellectual ability. An understanding teacher helps her to work with others without the necessity of defeating those she encounters.

Feeling of Rejection (NFBC 23min sd). A visual case history of a neurotic twenty-three-year-old girl. She suffers from physical symptoms such as headaches, extreme fatigue, dizzy spells. As no physical causes can be found she is referred by her doctor to a psychiatrist who is able to uncover the emotional basis for these physical reactions. A very sensible handling of mental and emotional problems which build up during childhood and emerge as serious problems in adult adjustment.

Learning to Understand Children, Part I: A Diagnostic Approach (McGraw-Hill 21min sd) Presents a case study of Ada Adams, an emotionally and socially maladjusted girl of fifteen. It records the efforts of her English teacher to study her case sympathetically in order to understand her. Shown in detail are the diagnostic techniques, such as observation of the child's behavior, study of her previous records, personal interviews, home visitation, and formulation of a hypothesis for remedial measures.

Learning to Understand Children, Part II: A Remedial Program (McGraw-Hill 23min sd). This is a continuation of the case in Part I showing the teacher developing a plan for remedial action.

Let There Be Light (U S Army 60min sd). This film deals with the methods of neuropsychiatric treatment in a general hospital, Continental United States, using narcosynthesis, hypnosis, and group psychotherapy. Film is restricted to showing to professional groups only.

Maintaining Classroom Discipline (McGraw-Hill 14min sd). Explores the fundamentals of proper control of class conduct and attitude; contrasting methods of handling a class shown.

Make Way for Youth (Association 22min sd). Startled into action by tragedy, the folks of a typical American town, young and old, get together on a youth program, and the fences between neighborhoods, races, and religions begin to break down.

Problem Children (Ohio 20min sd) A film about two children, Roy and Jimmy, in the seventh grade of an American public school, who present special problems for the teacher. Roy is active, athletic, but restive, a show-off and a bully. Jimmy is shy, lacking in self-confidence, passive, and pushed around. The technique employed in helping

these children, the family background, and the relationship between school and home are shown. The film makes the plea that there are problem homes, schools, and communities.

Psychiatry in Action (BIS 60min sd) Presents the work of a British hospital specializing in the treatment of military and civilian war neuroses with the aim of rapid rehabilitation.

White Banners (TFC 6min sd). A specially prepared excerpt which studies a particular instance of classroom discipline.

Youth in Crisis (Association 18min sd) The March of Time report on the effect of wartime strain on America's youth in terms of juvenile delinquency and on the agencies which families can turn to to help solve some of their more pressing problems.

SOURCES OF FILMS LISTED ABOVE

Association Films, Inc., 347 Madison Ave., New York 17.

BIS—British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20

Coronet Instructional Films, Inc., 65 E. South Water St., Chicago.

Mahnke, Carl F., Productions, 215 E. Third St., Des Moines 9, Iowa.

McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., Text-Film Dept., 330 W. 42nd St., New York 18.

National Probation Assn., 1790 Broadway, New York 19

NFBC—National Film Bd. of Canada, RKO Building, 1270 Sixth Ave., New York 19

NYSDC—New York State Dept. of Commerce, Film Library, 40 Howard St., Albany, N.Y.

Ohio State University, Bureau of Educational Research, Columbus 10, Ohio.

TFC—Teaching Film Custodians, 25 W. 43rd St., New York 18

U.S. Army Medical Illustration Service, Army Inst. of Pathology, Washington 25, D.C.

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